The New Flag
(La Nueva Bandera)

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We humans are mere fragments of time and heartbeats, but our deeds will remain for centuries stamped on generation after generation. We will people the Earth with light and happiness.

President Gonzalo
Communist Party of Peru



Seize Power!

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From the Editor

MARCHING ON

The contents of this issue, as those of the previous editions, highlight the major developments of the People's War in Peru. Now, as then, we are joyful that the latest political and military actions of the People's War have proven to the world that it is firmly rooted in the masses of our country and is the torchbearer of the world proletarian revolution.

The anti-imperialist struggles in the oppressed nations, especially the Peruvian revolution, show that despite the temporary counterrevolutionary offensive, revolution is the main tendency in today's world. In Peru in more than 15 years of battles and victories, the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) has reached the stage of strategic equilibrium which today develops its unstoppable march to the conquest of power countrywide and the installation of the People's Republic of Peru.

The dictatorship and its yellow press wage a massive propaganda campaign against the revolution. This fanfare is echoed by the imperialist press worldwide. They report tales about "capture of terrorists" and a "divided and defeated Sendero" pleading for "peace talks." Why aren't they credible? Because their songs of victory are in contradiction with reality. The loud and clear actions of the People's War are shaking up the old state.

The U.S. government tells us that the regime is bringing justice, economic development, free and fair elections and "human rights." None of this is true. Rather than a booming of the economy, poverty grows at considerable rates. The "modernization" of the status quo of misery cannot succeed because people want revolution, they want a new democracy that can be achieved only with the victory of the People's War. The judicial system is rotten and moribund. Faceless judges and the Army's death squads such as the "Colina Group" are engaged in the business of silencing, disappearing and murdering political opponents. Most of the country is under a state of emergency and military curfews. The savage neoliberal restructuring of the old state, which U.S. imperialism and its financial tools (IMF and World Bank) are implementing in Peru, can only bring profits to greedy multinational "investors" and big bourgeoisie who ransack the wealth of the country while driving the people deeper into poverty and foreign dependence. The U.S. gimmick of "suspending military aid" to the murderous Army which it funds and trains is not credible at all. U.S. imperialism directs the low intensity warfare against the people. In addition, under the disguise of a "war on drugs," the U.S. military presence in Peru is omnipresent.

As part of the "pacification" campaign, arbitrary arrests, search and seizure operations and counter-revolutionary violence have been institutionalized. The government talks of a pacified country when in reality there is no peace even in the cemeteries. Mass graves in army controlled settlements in the Huallaga Valley and Ayacucho have been found.

Our strength is that we have the truth. We are trying to present it clearly and plainly. We realize that what people understand in Peru is not easily translated into foreign thoughts because Peru is semi-feudal and semi-colonial whereas the U.S. is an imperialist country with a culture and history of its own. With this in mind, we must strive to find a way in which we can best support the People's War. The classic questions of Maoism: 1) who are our friends, 2) who are our enemies, and 3) how to unite the many to oppose the few, need to be answered in order to make more effective our revolutionary work. As Mao said, "correct ideas come from social practice and from it alone." If the masses make history, then we must be involved with the masses and learn from them.

Our Newsbriefs section reports on the Red October offensive in celebration of the Party's anniversary and other actions throughout the country.

We are showing that the contradictions within the bourgeoisie have become quite open. It reflects the cracks in the ruling classes. For example, the clashes of the tyranny with the Church hierarchy on population control and their partnership in the counterinsurgency effort.

The boycott of the presidential and municipal elections has been the highest since the launching of the People's War. Although the results of the municipal elections are no longer politically relevant, the high rate of absenteeism was significant due mainly to the PCP's boycott of the electoral farce. To bring the mayors under its control or else make them irrelevant, the dictatorship and its kangaroo Congress have created the "Ministry of the Presidency" that will handle social services, public works and hand-outs for the purposes of counterinsurgency.

The good news is that the People's War goes on. The masses and workers are resisting the policies of hunger and misery with combative rallies and mass volunteering into the ranks of the revolution. On October 25th there was a successful strike in Lima, and in the countryside the People's Army has paralyzed several cities with an armed strike.

We convey our greetings to the glorious party of the proletariat in Peru, the PCP and its Central Committee; to the supporters of the People's War worldwide and encourage them the accomplishments of all tasks that serve the Peruvian revolution and the world revolution in accordance with the International Directives of the PCP.

Newsbriefs

DEPARTMENT OF HUANUCO: Stronghold of the Revolution.

(PCP Regional Committee of Alto Huallaga)

On October 2, 1995, combatants of the PCP clashed with the Army in the locality of Alto Pacae in the province of Leoncio Prado. Several soldiers were killed or captured in combat. The Army reported that 3 Maoists known by the names of "Roger", "Elena" and "Dina" were killed (*El Comercio*, October 4, 1995). From 6PM October 4 to 5AM October 5, more than 100 PCP combatants smashed two Army patrols between the bridge of Aucayacu and the locality of Aspuzana on the main highway (Carretera Marginal). Fifteen paramilitary and soldiers were eliminated in combat and dozens were captured. The population welcomed the entrance of the Maoists. Rallies in support of the People's War were held in all communities located between kilometers 14, 18 and 21 of "Carretera Marginal", including the villages of Marunilla and Caimito in the province of Leoncio Prado. Previously, these areas were under the control of Fujimori's soldiers who are now being expelled. The Maoists burned one military truck and a gasoline tank used by the military. [Summary of most newspapers, mainly *La Republica* of October 6, 1995.] In October 6, 1995 another column of 200 combatants of the PCP took over the locality of Shamira in the province of Tingo Maria. The entire local paramilitary *ronda* and Army personnel were smashed, including five turncoats supporters of Fujimori's hoax "peace accords." In the villages of Pucayacu and Cotomonillo, province of Leoncio Prado, a total of 13 paramilitary and Army soldiers were executed. Most of the captured paramilitary were freed since they were forced to join the *rondas* by the Army. Seven Army garrisons were burned by the rebels. The youth voluntarily joined the People's Army. [*El Mundo*, October 7, 1995]. DINCOTE sources believe that this overwhelming guerrilla offensive in Huanuco is the response to the government's propaganda that the leaders of the PCP Regional Committee of Huallaga have capitulated. [*El Comercio*, October 7, 1995]

In the face of the bold October PCP offensive, the enemies of the revolution such as the Kangaroo Congress joined forces in denouncing this brilliant victory of the people of Peru and its leadership as "human rights violations" against the ruthless *rondas* and Fujimori's Army. It is public knowledge that in these areas the government has armed and organized paramilitary *rondas* who serve as a buffer to the genocidal Army and commit atrocious crimes against the people. Fujimori declared a State of Emergency in the department of Huanuco. [*Expreso*, *La Republica*, October 8, 1995.]

SAN MARTIN: Clashes with the Army.

On October 11, 1995, the Chief of the political-military command in the Huallaga valley reported clashes between the Army and Maoist combatants in the localities of Alto Uchiza, Buenos Aires, Pacae, Jose Crespo y Castillo and the districts of Progreso and Tocache. [*Expreso*, October 12, 1995] On October 12, 1995, a contingent of the PCP clashed with the Army during several hours in the locality of 'San Antonio', province of Tocache. Other guerrilla actions against military and economic targets took place in the provinces of Tarma, Callao, Huacho, Pasco, Trujillo, Huancayo, La Oroya and Huanuco, and in the localities of Ambo, Yanahuanca, Santa Anita-Lima, and Chilia in central Peru. [*El Comercio* October 17, 1995, *La Republica* October 10, 1995].

HUANUCO AND EL HUALLAGA.

On October 24, 1995, a communique of the Army's political-military command reported clashes with Maoist forces in Huanuco and Huallaga. The Army did not report loses on either side.

Source: Expreso 25/10/95.

AMAZONAS: Army Arsenal Blown up by Guerrilla Attack.

October 10, 1995. At least five members of the Army and seven other paramilitaries were severely wounded in a devastating attack by Maoist combatants to a large arsenal of explosives in the district of Pedro Ruiz, Province of Bongara, Department of Amazonas. The explosion followed after a Maoist guerrilla contingent burned the military installation. PCP commandos cleared the area of non-combatant civilians before the attack. [Source: *El Peruano* & *La Republica* October 25, 1995]

AYACUCHO: Bastion of the People's War.

On October 5, 1995 a joint military force of army and police clashed with combatants of the People's Army in the region of Putajasa, province de Huancasancos. The Army made unsubstantiated claims of "capture of terrorists" [*Expreso*, October 7, 1995]. Fujimori boasted that three leaders of the People's Army were captured in the province of Victor Fajardo. A PCP leaflet distributed in the city of Huamanga denied this assertion [*El Comercio*, *El Mundo*, October 7, 1995]. On October 17, 1995, in Pucayacu, combatants of the PCP ambushed an army patrol. Two soldiers died and three were wounded. In the People's Committee of Vizcatan, a column of Maoists ambushed and smashed another Army patrol. One soldier was killed, three were wounded and at least 12 Army officers were captured by the Maoists. [*Expreso* and *El Comercio* of October 18, 1995.]

AYACUCHO. On October 24, 1995, hundreds of Maoist combatants clashed violently with 1,000 Army soldiers in Vizcatan, Razuhuillca and Huanta. These are strongholds of the PCP. The Army

did not report loses. [*El Comercio*, October 25, 1995]

CENTRAL REGIONAL COMMITTEE (Junin, Huancayo and Tarma)

TARMA. October 17, 1995. In the locality of San Pedro de Cajas, province of Tarma, department of Junin, a column of 100 Maoist combatants supported by the local population took over the city. The walls of the city were sprayed with slogans against the forthcoming municipal elections. [*Expreso*, October 18, 1995.]

HUANCAYO. At about 2AM on October 30 several bombs exploded at the police garrison and Fujimori's political office in the district of Chongos Bajo [*La Republica,* November 1, 1995]

METROPOLITAN COMMITTEE OF LIMA.

LIMA. October 7, 1995. Several military and political actions were carried out by the Maoist insurgents in most districts of the capital. The PCP has celebrated its anniversary with an intense activity in the entire country. In the districts and shanty towns of Lima the red flags of the proletariat were posted on the rooftops. PCP activists distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets in red ink. [*La Republica*, October 8, 1995.] At 7:30 PM on October 7, the textile factory 'San Cristobal' was attacked, two incinerators were blown up with explosives. This company has a history of abuses and physical aggression against its workers. Many of them were recently fired from their jobs without any benefits. [*El Mundo*, October 9, 1995]

LIMA. On October 18, 1995 at 10 PM, Maoist combatants of the PCP attacked a multinational car assembly plant located at Calle Las Fraguas in the district of Independencia. The action was in response to the firing, without benefits, of dozens of workers. The explosion caused considerable physical damage. [*El Comercio*, October 19, 1995.]

Teachers in Struggle.

LIMA. October 25, 1995. More than 200,000 public school teachers throughout Peru carried out a successful strike for 48 hours. Large mass rallies were held in major cities of the country and most of them confronted a brutal military repression. All educational activities were suspended in the country. The teachers protested against the policies of hunger and misery, demanded higher salaries and against the privatization of education. The bases of the SUTEP (teacher's union) raised the slogan: In support of the People's War, against the genocidal dictatorship! [Source: PCP Leaflet and *Expreso*, October 25, 1995.]

Wave of Strikes Hits Lima.

On October 25, 1995 thousands of teachers and workers from the hospitals, textile, municipals, banks, fishing industry and universities paralyzed the city with a massive general strike. Several demonstrators were wounded with live ammunition fired by the military. The next day the Army invaded the campus of San Marcos University where 34 students were arrested and tortured at the DINCOTE headquarters. Several students are now on hunger strike in protest of the arrests. [*Expreso*, October 26, 1995.]

Faceless Judges Run the Judiciary.

LIMA, October 13, 1995. Fujimori announced that Law 26537, that "legalizes" the operation of "masked Judges", will be in force until October 1996. This fascist decree forces political prisoners to be taken into military facilities to face mock trials before faceless judges. Masked judges run the judicial system since their promulgation just after the military coup of April 1992. It is unlikely that these torture centers be closed in the foreseeable future. We remind our readers that in December 1994, Fujimori and his Foreign Minister announced at the UN Human Rights Commission Against Torture in Geneva that this Nazi-like system of justice would be dismantled by July 28, 1995. Does Fujimori have any credibility? Didn't he boast that the People's War would be defeated by July 1995? Didn't he say that the poverty level in Peru will be reduced in half? Where are the million jobs and the empty talk of "technology-jobs-honesty" offered in his electoral campaign of 1990? Lies! [Sources: *Expreso, Gestion*, October 14, 1995.]

The Municipal Electoral Farce, the Boycott and Imperialist IBM

LIMA, October 11, 1995. The Board of Elections (National Office of Electoral Process) chose multinational IBM to run the data processing of municipal elections in Peru. [*Expreso*, October 12, 1995] The candidates to the municipality of Lima are known enemies of the people, both are representatives of the Peruvian big bourgeoisie. Jaime Yoshiyama, a crony of Fujimori, has the backing of SIN, the Army and the comprador bourgeoisie whereas Alberto Andrade running as "independent" is backed by forces of the oligarchy such as Apra, Perez de Cuellar and the Revisionists (United Left). [Note: The election was won by Andrade who immediately praised Fujimori. The PCP has called for the boycott of this electoral circus held in November 1995.]

Washington Embarrassed by Puppet's Law of Impunity

On November 3, 1995, Reuters reported that the US Congress will suspend military aid to the Peruvian army in 1996. Peru's army along with the armies of Sudan, Zaire, Liberia, and Guatemala have been known to commit atrocious crimes against the civilian population. This "aid", of course, does not include the antinarcotics cooperation which is a cover being used by the US to combat the People's War. In an interview to *EFE*, George Vickers of WOLA (a group of US scholars on Latin America) reaffirmed

the fact that the Peruvian regime maintains its policy of human rights abuses. The regime's latest hallmark was the Law of Impunity. This Congressional action is surprising since it shows that the dictatorship is losing the support even from the Republican controlled Congress. WOLA stated that it is unlikely that Clinton will release the 30 million in military aid which would be used mainly to purchase spare parts and to train officers in Peru. Does it include the training of Peruvian death squads at the Army School of the Americas in Georgia? In the past, there have been posturing threats to suspend US military aid. For example after the military coup in 1992 and the shooting down of a US military plane in Northern Peru, but which was quietly reinstated under other provisions. The US threat to cut military aid seems hypocritical. With regard to the current Congressional action, Fujimori stated, "in the face of the international narcotic trafficking, the cut in military aid is minuscule, we will use our own resources." This clearly shows that the Peruvian military as an institution is involved in narcotrafficking in the Huallaga Valley and that the US drug policy in Peru is a complete failure. Fujimori is right on this point, the 30 million military cut is "peanuts" or symbolic considering the approximately 1.5 billion dollars in income obtained from the drug business. A Fujimori's crony, Alfonso de los Heros, a former Primer Minister, declared that WOLA "is an enemy of the regime." [Most of the newspapers, November 4, 1995.]

Fascist Military Intervention in Sugar Cooperatives

On August 24, 1995, under the disguise of an "infiltration by *Senderistas*," the Army took over four sugar cooperatives in Northern Peru (Chiclayo). The first center attacked was the largest sugar cooperative Tuman where a military base was installed. Two days later, another Army contingent seized the agrarian cooperatives of Pomalca, Cayalti and Pucali. According to Army General Jose Villanueva: "This assault is to neutralize the influence of *Sendero Luminoso* on the workers." [*La Republica*, August 27, 1995]. These military assaults on economic centers, universities, labor unions, municipalities are unprecedented in Peru. On April 1992, the military carried out a military coup, dissolved the Congress and the judiciary. A couple of months later, the universities were occupied and now the factories and cooperatives are being assaulted. These desperate actions of the regime demonstrates an impending advance of fascism trying to defeat the powerful Maoist insurgency.

BRAZIL: Revolution is the Only Solution for the Land Problem. Imperialists Fear PCP's Influence in All Latin-America.

Millions of homeless families in Brazil have the right to recover their lands. One percent (1%) of the population made up of landlords and capitalist thugs owns more than 45% of the land. The people of Roraima, Minas Gemis, Pernambuco, Roraima and Para have overcome the duplicitous pacifism of the Church and have taken over the land they rightfully own with their hands. As is a common practice in Latin America, the military responded with a bloody massacre of unarmed people trying to evict them. The day when the masses of Brazil will be armed with the powerful weapon of Maoism and will wage a people's war with guns in their hands is drawing near. "Army intelligence specialists consider that the Movimento Democratico dos Sem-Terra (MDST), and the Movimento de Luta pela Terra (MLT), have contacts with *Sendero Luminoso*. The military also feels that it will inevitably lead to guerrilla warfare. They claim that known *Sendero Luminoso* activists from Peru have been seen in the vicinity of these camps. Secret army ministry documents report that *Sendero Luminoso* members arrived in Brazil in 1991 to give military and ideological instruction to the MST." [*Folha du Brasil*, August 8, 1995.]

Poverty Will Be Reduced in Half: Fujimori's Cheap Demagoguery.

For five consecutive years, economic data in Peru is being fabricated to fit the political ends of the dictatorship. The gross national product (GNP) reported by the government does not match with reality. The government claimed that the 1994 GNP was 50 billion dollars and the GNP for 1995 was 62.5 billion dollars. The falsity of this report is highlighted when the regime claims that the 1995 average annual per capita income was 2,500 dollars (higher than Chile and Argentina!) However, using the actual monetary value of Peruvian *soles* and considering other economic variables, independent economists found out that the per capita income was only US $1,200 and the GNP for 1995 is 44 billion dollars (an error of US$18.5 billion) which means that the 1995 income of Peruvians is equivalent to that of the 1970s. The annual per capita purchasing power of Peruvians in 1994 was less than $1,200. The budget deficit reaches 12% of the GNP, the highest in the last 75 years. Imports have reached 24% of the GNP which shows the destruction of the national economy and the total submission of Peruvian markets to greedy multinationals. The gravity of the problem is that the national budget for 1996 was approved based on this fraudulent economic recovery. [*Actualidad Economica*, Aprodeh, October 16, 1995.]

Army's Death Squad "Grupo Colina" in Full Operation.

It is public knowledge that "Grupo Colina" works under the command of the Army's General Military Command and the National; Intelligence Service (SIN). Two of the many crimes committed by this death squad were publicly

exposed: The Cantuta murder case (torture and killing of 9 students and a professor) and the killings of Barrios Altos (murder of 16 members of two families). The head of SIN is the right hand of Fujimori, the drug dealer and CIA pawn, Vladimiro Montesinos.

All members of Grupo Colina, including the killer of La Cantuta University Army Captain Martin Rivas, were promoted and are in active military service. [*Actualidad Economica*, Aprodeh, September 28, 1995.]

Terrorist Faceless Judges: Hallmark of the Fascist Dictatorship

In march of 1995, Fujimori's Minister of Justice Vega Santa Gadea reassured the UN's Human Rights Commission and the U.S. Congress that the notorious faceless judges and other draconian anti-insurgency measures in Peru would be eliminated by July 1995. This is the same time period boasted by Fujimori needed to "wipe out subversion". Also, this assertion was repeated by Blanca Nelida Colan, Fujimori's prosecutor (the same person who hailed the massacre and counted the bodies of the political prisoners murdered in the prison of Cantogrande) who acknowledged that such a measure violates the Peruvian Constitution and International Law. However, there are some hitmen of the regime such as Daniel Espichan (another assassin involved in the massacre of Cantogrande--*El Diario* called him a pig crossed with a bloody hyena) who defend the continuity of the faceless judges, saying "it is needed because subversion by *Sendero* continues." Espichan tries to justify Fujimori's lie of a "defeated *Sendero*" as "words of encouragement to the security services." [*Actualidad Economica*, Aprodeh, Lima, October 7 de 1995.]

[Note. This shows the psycho-social component of the low intensity warfare strategy used against the people. Faceless judges, curfews, massive arrests of civilians, but at the same time falsely claiming a "divided and defeated *Sendero*."]

Dictator Warns: "I Am the Judicial System". PCP Crushes Fujimori's Plan of Capitulation.

Resumen Semanal No. 842 [Lima, October 24, 1995] reported that the Supreme Court, appointed by Fujimori after the military coup of April 1992, ordered that President Gonzalo be tried at the Civil Court. He is currently incarcerated at the Navy Base of Callao. Fujimori is adamantly opposed to this Order: "If the judicial system insists on trying Abimael Guzman, it will be a risk to national security. I will not allow that Abimael Guzman be tried in a Civil Court. Something may happen on his way to Court." This statement of Fujimori confirms the following:

1) The judicial system in Peru is totally dependent on the dictator, 2) it confirms that the letters and videos calling for peace and attributed by Fujimori to President Gonzalo are pure fabrications by the intelligence services, 3) it also shows that the People's War is strong and that the regime fears transporting President Gonzalo to a Civil Court. If not, why should a Court appearance by President Gonzalo be a "threat to national security?"

Background on President Gonzalo's imprisonment:

In September 1992, Fujimori personally announced the "death sentence" of President Gonzalo, but a few months later, under pressure by the CIA and other intelligence services (e.g., SIN) directing the counterinsurgency war in Peru, a mockery of a trial took place at the Navy Base. Fujimori's generals dressed up as "masked judges" decided to give him a "life sentence." Thus, they believed that President Gonzalo would be more useful for their sinister plans alive than dead. At first, they needed to "de-mystify" a leader who is loved by the masses and was an undisputable leader of the Communist Party by trying to ridicule him before the world. On September 24, 1992, he was put into a tiger cage and given the opportunity to talk. President Gonzalo delivered a powerful "speech from the cage" addressing his message exclusively to the people and the leadership of the PCP. "This is only a bend on the road... The road is long and we will reach the end... we will continue applying the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the People's War for the Conquest of Power." To allow this speech was a fatal mistake for the dictatorship. It took SIN and their CIA handlers more than one year to implement the second phase of its counterrevolutionary plan. They fabricated three "letters" from President Gonzalo to Fujimori seeking "peace talks". These fake letters were read knowingly and unscrupulously by Fujimori at the United Nations. Also SIN produced videos, using cut and paste video technology, to show President Gonzalo as a vulgar "capitulator." Finally, the regime recruited a handful of traitors in the jail of Yanamayo-Puno (former members of the PCP) and transported them from prison to prison to campaign for the "peace talks." Although the government offered freedom for the traitors in exchange for information and capture of the leadership of the PCP, this sinister plan did not get off the ground. The plan of capitulation was rejected in all prisons of Peru and in the entire country. The powerful blows of the People's War against the old state defeated a sophisticated intelligence plan of the regime calling for the end of the revolution. The way that the PCP militants and combatants were mentally prepared well in advance of this counterrevolutionary hoax is a great lesson to be learned by the International Communist Movement. The October 7, 1993 Declaration of the PCP Central Committee emphatically denounced the plan of capitulation: "It is a ridiculous lie that no one with two ounces of brain can take seriously and which, like its predecessors shall be unmasked by the People's War... The rights that the people have won must never be lightly given up but must be defended by armed struggle."

Army School of Assassins Trains

Peruvian Death Squads.

The US Army's School of the Americas (SOA), the leading training center of military death squads operating in Latin America, is based at Fort Benning, Georgia. "It is a model institution. Its instructors and students are recruited from the cream of Latin America's military establishment," reads an Internet message of a SOA spokesman. That's true if we understand who those cream of military establishment are. For the people of Latin America, the record of blood and death of the SOA is well known. Even liberal politicians in the U.S. are horrified about its heinous crimes: "SOA graduates include dictators and soldiers implicated in gross human rights violations in Latin America," says U.S. Congressman Joseph Kennedy. "... The SOA costs [the US] millions of dollars a year and identifies us with tyranny and oppression." [*Z Magazine*, W.E. Gutman. September 1995] The SOA curriculum includes:

counterinsurgency, military intelligence, interrogation techniques, sniper fire, infantry and commando tactics, "irregular" and psychological warfare, jungle operations, among the most gruesome specialties. We should include assassination and murder of political dissidents opposed to US puppet regimes in Latin America. "But Latin American soldiers at the SOA are not always trained to defend their borders from foreign invasion. They are taught--at US taxpayers' expense--to make war against their own people, to subvert the truth, silence poets, domesticate unruly visionaries, muzzle activist clergy, hinder trade unionism, hush the voices of dissidence and discontent, neutralize the poor, the hungry, the dispossessed, extinguish common dreams, irrigate fields of plenty with the tears of a captive society, and transform paladins and protesters into submissive vassals." [ibid.] In Peru, the U.S. controlled Peruvian Army has wiped out entire villages (Accomarca, Uchuraccay and others), committed genocides of hundreds of political prisoners in the prisons of Cantogrande, El Fronton, Lurigancho and Santa Monica, it has murdered most of the 30,000 civilians (genocides of Barrios Altos, La Cantuta among others) and displaced from their lands more than one million peasants as part of the low intensity warfare against the People's War led by the PCP.

LIMA: Fearful Li Peng Cancels Public Activities in Peru.

A Chinese delegation of 16 capitalists headed by Primer Minister Li Peng arrived in Peru on October 9. Fujimori's announcement of having a joint public appearance with Li Peng in the Districts of San Martin and Cantogrande in Lima was suddenly canceled at the last minute due to an intelligence report of a potential military attack by the PCP. The presence of this shadowy Chinese figure coincided with the Anniversary of the PCP and its military offensive in Lima. On October 7, there was a huge explosion at the textile company 'San Cristobal.' The presence of the Chinese delegation responded not only to their economic exploitation in Peru but also to military issues. Meetings were held with Defense Minister General Victor Malca and the Chief of the Army's General Command Nicolas de Bari. The Chinese investment in Peru in 1995 is over 0.5 billion dollars. The Chinese State Company Shougang exploits (free of taxes) one of the largest mining companies of Iron in Central Peru (Hierro Peru-Marcona). [*Caretas* October 14, 1995]

HUANUCO. On November 19, a bloody clash between combatants of the PCP and the Army occurred in the district of Chichao. Many soldiers were killed. The Army reported that Nilda Moreno, a wounded PCP member, was captured in combat. [*Expreso* Nov. 22]

AYACUCHO. On November 8, Maoists attacked the city of Mollepata, located between the localities of Ccaro and Manchento, in Huanta, Ayacucho. The chief of the Army-run paramilitary *rondas* was caught and executed. With the support of the community, three military vehicles were burned and a member of Fujimori's Committee of Repopulation was arrested. The PCP contingent also took over the village of Pampas in the Department of Huancavelica. In Sivia,Huanta, the electricity plant was sabotaged. [*Expreso*, November 9 and Nov. 11]

CALLAO. On Nov. 10, Mario Vidalon Morales, a member of an army death squad, was executed by Maoist combatants in the intersection of the avenues Faucett and Chalaca. Previously, on November 11, an army captain was attacked by two combatants driving a motorcycle. [*Expreso* Nov. 11]

PIURA. A big farm "Fundo Amador", located in Huancabamba was seized by PCP combatants. Two members of the security forces were executed. Among the guerrilla members there were at least two women. [*El Comercio*, Nov. 11]

CUSCO. The PCP declared an armed strike for 3 days (Nov. 10-13) in the province of Chumbivilcas. All cities and villages were painted with slogans in support of the People's War, also leaflets were distributed widely among the population. [*El Comercio*, Nov. 11]

PUCALLPA. In Contamana, 200 teachers who were holding a pedagogical meeting were arrested by the Marines. They were accused of being "apologists of terrorism." [*La Republica*, Nov. 8].

SAN MARTIN. The military post of El Progreso was overrun by Maoist combatants. The municipal elections were totally sabotaged during the armed strike. Also, the districts of Angashiacu and Jose Crespo y Castillo in the Carretera Marginal (Province of Tocache) were painted with slogans in support of the People's War. [*El Comercio*, Nov. 14]

LIMA, SANTA ANITA. Maoists

attacked the house of Vidal Bautista Carrasco, a military-appointed Dean (Vice Rector) of the University of La Cantuta. La Cantuta has been under military occupation since 1992 and is being "reorganized" by the intelligence services of the regime. A few years ago, the Army death squad "Grupo Colina" with the "legal support" of Vidal Bautista kidnaped and murdered 9 university students from this campus. In the PCP attack, two police were wounded. In an attempt to implicate foreigners in this attack, the police revealed that an ID of "Howard Braler Lewis" was found at the scene. [*El Comercio*, Nov. 20]

LIMA. Partial List of Army Death Squad "Grupo Colina" Revealed. These are the names of the killers of La Cantuta who under orders of Fujimori and his advisor Vladimiro Montesinos carried out several crimes: General Juan Rivera Lazo, Colonel Federico Navarro, Major Santiago Martin Rivas, Major Carlos Pichilingue, Pvte. Antonio Sosa Saavedra and Nelson Carbajal Garcia.

LIMA. Police Chiefs Profit from Drug Business. While Army generals act as partners of the drug dealers in El Huallaga Valley (the largest coca producer in the world), police generals are not falling behind. Lima's Channel 4 "Revista Dominical" reported that properties confiscated in Peru from narcotraffickers are being looted by police chiefs who share huge profits among themselves. For example, 38 luxury houses in the wealthy areas of Miraflores and San Isidro, with a total value of 50 million dollars, were confiscated from drug king Lopez Paredes. These properties were split among generals of DINCOTE (anti-subversive) and DIRANDRO (anti-drugs). Police chief Hector Alva Plasencia was already acting as a landlord; he was renting some of these properties as whorehouses. Interior Minister General Briones and Fujimori tried to whitewash the widespread corruption in the armed forces: "We will investigate."

[*La Republica*, Nov. 21]

Note. The press in Peru asks, how about the properties and drug money confiscated since 1980? What is the US-DEA role in this corruption? (DIRANDRO is funded by the US)

MADRID (*ABC*, October 16).- In an interview with Madrid's newspaper *ABC*, Kenyo Fujimori reported: "I cannot negate that as in all pacification processes, a number of errors and human rights violations are being committed by the armed forces; these have been going on since the 1980's and continue since the first years of my presidency ... many innocent people are being jailed", "terrorism is not a problem for the country anymore, although there are still zones in the Andes and jungle areas dominated by subversives, some are coca growing areas, but the military controls most of these." Fujimori ended the interview by saying: "My wife's high profile denunciations of widespread corruption in my government have caused me grave injuries ... if I get the divorce I will remarry."

MADRID (*ABC*, October 17).- The bourgeois journalist Alvaro Vargas Llosa (son of the novelist Mario Vargas Llosa) writes in Madrid's newspaper *ABC* that "in Peru drug dealers have established a juicy alliance with the highest political and military authorities, and nobody moved a finger against this, except the Maoist band *Sendero*, PCP, still leading a powerful insurgency."

MADRID (*Diario* 16, November 8.) Eleven officers of the Peruvian Army, including two generals, were arrested this week under charges of narcotics trafficking. From June thru September 1994, many military officers such as Col. Jorge Luis Morales Hidalgo and Agustin Tafur Medina received payments from the drug traffickers. The revelations were made by Army officer Mario Garcia Arroyo. Other sources report that Spain's intelligence services (CESID) confirmed that "drug businesses have been wiped out by the Maoist band *Sendero* in the area of Eastern Huanuco."

LIMA. (*Expreso*, November 22). Alvin Adams, US Ambassador in Lima reported that his government will increase economic and military aid to Fujimori for the "War on Drugs." Despite the rampant involvement of the Army and police in the drug business, Adams expressed "we are satisfied with the anti-drug effort in Peru." On Nov. 15 Adams congratulated 10 Peruvian military completing a special US sponsored training on "Human Rights" at the University of Maryland. [Note. This is a hallmark of US hypocrisy. What difference will the training of 10 members of a genocidal armed force of 500,000 make? At the same time the training of hundreds of Peruvian death squads at the US Army School of Assassins in Georgia goes on.]

NEW YORK. Nov. 22, 1995. Under the title of "Austerity Plan Slows Peru's Economy" *The Wall Street Journal* (p. 4) reported, "once Latin America's hottest economy, Peru is cooling down fast...it is frustrating the vast rank of poor Peruvians where incomes remain below where they were in the 1970's...The new austerity measures can already be felt in Villa El Salvador [edit. A huge shanty town near Lima] where government spending is viewed as the only way to redress the huge differences in income and services that makes Peru such a fertile breeding ground for the Marxist Shining Path."

RUSSIA (*El Mundo*, November 8). Thousands of Russians celebrated the 8th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution and demanded the return of Socialism in Russia. In Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and in other cities and towns throughout Russia, thousands of workers went to the streets to celebrate another anniversary of the victory of the proletariat over the Tzars, the landlords and capitalists in the winter of 1917. The mass meetings in Moscow and St. Petersburg gathered approximately 200,000 people carrying a sea of red flags and portraits of Lenin and Stalin. This contrasts with the complete rejection of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev.

ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

In spite of the democratic charade of the regime: elections, parliament and a judiciary (all under the control of a presidential absolutism), ultimate authority in Peru rests with the U.S. backed military. No civilian authority can challenge the hegemony of its protector the armed forces who along with the drug lords make up the big Peruvian bourgeoisie. This unchecked authority has enabled the current fascist clique in power headed by Alberto Fujimori, the head of the Army's Intelligence Service (SIE) Vladimiro Montesinos and the Chief of the Armed Forces General Nicolas De Bari, to maintain a murderous dictatorship.

On April 1992, a day before the military Coup, Bernard Aronson, Undersecretary of State for Latin American Affairs, was in Peru to discuss the details of the implementation of the "Coup D'etat Plan" [Plan del Golpe] which was drafted between 1989 and 1990. According to *Caretas* magazine of Sept. 21, 1995, this plan consists of two volumes describing among other things the dissolution of the Parliament and how to set up a new subservient Congress, the cooptation of the judiciary, and the curtailment of the most basic constitutional rights of the people by imposing state of emergencies and curfews, and carrying out assassinations against members and supporters of the revolution. For example, a chapter of the Plan del Golpe entitled "Population for the First Half Century" (Volume 1, Page 11) explicitly calls for genocide: "The total extermination of the subversives and their immediate relatives," the "drastic control of the population" by compulsive sterilizations of the poor (mainly of peasant origin), and the promoting of "migration of the excessive population to other countries." All these fascist measures were carried out as part of the so-called low intensity warfare campaign against the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). Relying mainly on the ideological strength of its cadres and a deep rooted support among the masses, especially within the People's Committees, the PCP has met this difficult challenge presented by reaction. In the midst of the armed struggle, the Peruvian Communists were capable of successfully expanding their military and political activities throughout the entire country. The People's Army and the PCP have their main bases of support among the poor in rural areas and in urban shanty towns.

The revolutionaries have strived, and succeeded, to be superior over the reactionaries and have defeated their sinister campaigns and plans. After the bend in the road, the PCP has escalated armed actions rather than succumbing to counterinsurgency campaigns that throughout the last 15 years of the People's War have used psychological warfare to defame and disarm the revolution. What haven't they done to defuse the revolutionary storm of the masses? All kinds of slander has been spouted against the PCP without an iota of evidence. The same narco-generals of Fujimori and the CIA have tried to link the PCP with drug trafficking and accused them of using terror tactics against the people.

Fujimori boasted that the People's War was practically extinct and it would be totally defeated by the end of his first term (July 1995), but 1995 is almost gone and the revolution is as bold as ever. More than 65% of Peru is under a State of Emergency and military curfews. In some areas formerly under government control, the PCP has re-established a presence. Popular schools have spread out in all cities and shanty towns and PCP contingents have been very visible in those areas. Spectacular armed strikes and blackouts of electricity occur with frequency in major cities and the October 1995 offensive has been remarkable in quality and quantity of political and military actions. The boycott of the presidential and municipal elections was a triumph to the class and the proletariat of Peru who clamor for more revolution than illusory elections. All these confrontations are part of the struggles between revolution and counter-revolution in all levels of society that are being won by the masses led by the PCP.

Hundreds of People's Committees have been established countrywide during the last 15 years and these are the nuclei of a New Democratic Republic that puts priority on serving the people by means of a self-sustaining economy (based on production for consumption) rather than exploitation (imperialist investment and trade.)

Much of the wealth sought by imperialists in Peru today are minerals such as gold, copper, lead, silver, zinc, uranium and also oil.

The regime, under the guidance of U.S. military advisors, follows the U.S. counterinsurgency tactics, pitting masses against masses, peasants against each other by organizing paramilitary groups (Civil Defense Groups or *rondas*) to be used as shields of the armed forces in its fight against the People's Army. So the reactionaries want to have it both ways: They try to preserve their own regular military forces while at the same time accusing the PCP of killing civilians. In addition, SIN and the counterinsurgency police (DINCOTE) receive direct assistance from the CIA in conducting sophisticated intelligence operations.

Peru's debt-ridden economy is being saved from collapse basically by selling off approximately $5 billion dollars of state-owned companies and approximately $1.5 billions dollars from the drug trade. The US government and its puppet regime have been unable to hide the fact that officials in charge of the "War on Drugs" are regularly engaged in drug trafficking. Most of the reported narco-generals, especially those in charge of the political and military command in the Huallaga Valley (the largest coca producing area in the world) are generally protected by the military establishment. Under pressure from the U.S. DEA, a small number of symbolic "indictments" by military courts have occurred,

while the biggest traffickers remain protected by the government.

By the government's own statistics, 15 million people lack adequate food, clothing, shelter and basic education. It means that 2 of every 3 Peruvians live in critical poverty. More than half of the country's children suffer from malnutrition. About 500,000 workers have lost their jobs since the privatization program began in Peru. In 1994, only 7.9% of the national budget was allocated for social programs whereas the military sucked up 19.2%. The bulk of the national budget is used to pay the foreign debt.

Unlike the areas where People's Committees have been established and alternative crops are being introduced, the U.S. sponsored crop substitution programs in coca producing areas have been totally unsuccessful. Even reporters from the bourgeois media acknowledge that the peasant communities in these areas and the People's Army fight jointly against the alliance of drug lords, government troops and U.S. mercenaries.

As the People's War approaches its 16th year of struggle against the old Peruvian state and foreign domination, it is an inspiration to the peoples of the world to see that the oppressed have the right to rise up in arms against their oppressors and that they can conquer power. Finally, it shows that the "piece of the pie" politics pursued by revisionists and opportunists are unworthy ones. ☞

Peru People's Movement (MPP). November 1995.

III Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru. Central Document

[Note: Transcribed from the Report by President Gonzalo; corrections pending. Translation into English by the Peru People's Movement (MPP).]

Bear in mind the documents of the III Plenum; publish the II Plenum; print the document "Let the Strategic Equilibrium Rock the Country!" for the comrades in the leadership. The document "The Two Hills" can reach down to the combatants, send it to them so that they can reproduce it; spread "The Promise", etc. These are the documents of the Party, apply them at once, these are our fundamental positions.

On Karl Marx [by Lenin -- Trans.] We must see how the comrades manage Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There is empiricism, we must see how to combat it. There are serious difficulties in this; there is too much subjectivism and individualism, it is a problem of ideology. In the Communist Party of China, at one time they studied *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*. It is very important that they be understood. If not, then reality is not understood; how can it be managed? If contradiction is not studied, how can revolutionary leaps be managed? These are problems we must think about. "Karl Marx" is a text of Lenin's, Chairman Mao developed some points on this further, on contradiction for example. By studying this text there is a risk of falling into the criteria of Stalin; we must know at what moment we need to study and this must be noted.

The comrades XX are said to have empiricism, it is an ideological question. A problem that will present itself more and more is that we must investigate reality; if not, I ask how are we going to face new problems? Chairman Mao at important moments of the revolution expounded on the necessity of understanding everything by applying the practice of contradiction, and this is a problem for the entire Party. We must understand how to do and how to study. There is a lack of knowledge and reactionary ideas have repercussions. It would be better to address some of our specific problems and study them, analyze them by committees and we will see what ideological problems there are. There is much repetition but little understanding.

SECOND PART: CENTRAL DOCUMENT. DEVELOPMENT OF THE III PLENUM AND OTHER PROBLEMS.

We have addressed the contents of the III Plenum in the January meeting. There was a conclusion to elaborate a Central Document with the following outline:

I. International Situation.

We must examine the theme of imperialism. Bearing in mind the thesis of Lenin and Chairman Mao, we should analyze the following points:

- The characteristics of the sinking of imperialism;
- The contradiction between collusion and contention of the superpowers and powers;
- What is relevant to the bankruptcy of revisionism;
- Oppressed nations,
- The third world. Strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Aim at seeing revolution as the principal tendency.

II. Analysis of Contemporary Peruvian Society.

Focus on bureaucratic capitalism, we must base ourselves on our positions on this. For example, in the August document ("On the Rectification Campaign with Elections, No!, People's War, Yes!'"). Bureaucratic capitalism is ripening the conditions for revolution. We must consider the reactionarization of the old Peruvian state, with the Armed Forces as their vertebral column and the groups and factions of the big bourgeoisie, both the comprador and the bureaucratic one, the Church and its growing influence, and particularly the Catholic church. We must look into the importance of the land question; we must examine semi-feudalism and how the People's War has had an impact on this problem. How is the fundamental contradiction between masses-feudalism, nation-imperialism, people-bureaucratic capitalism materi-

alizing? How about the democratic path and the People's Republic of Peru? We must aim to see Peruvian society and its collapse in the process of its inevitable destruction.

III. Status of the People's War.

- The Strategic Plan of Development of the People's War.
- The campaigns and counter-campaigns and the transfer of the center and the insurrection.
- How to complete the democratic revolution by taking the cities on the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

IV. Problem of Construction.

Highlight the urgent and important problems. The United Front of the Revolution to Conquer Power: construction of the New State, exercising democracy. The People's Guerrilla Army: develop it and strengthen its armament to the highest bellicosity. The Party: how to understand the Rectification Campaign. The Party keeps the path, the immediate goals and the definitive goal. The content of the Rectification Campaign should be on construction. See the necessity of studying Lenin's *Karl Marx*. The documents for the Rectification Campaign of the Great Conclusion are three:

1. Quotations of Chairman Mao on People's War;
2. "Regarding our Politics", by Chairman Mao, Vol. II p. 461 [trans. Spanish version];
3. "On the Construction of the Party" (*Bandera Roja* #46) [trans. Bandera Roja official organ of the PCP, Central Committee] Highlight that everything serves to lay the foundations for the VI Plan and Strategic Plan of Construction.

Summarizing, the document should have five parts: World revolution; Peruvian society; On the People's War; Construction and other problems, Concrete Program, etc. New Plan and Strategic Plan of Construction. We have been handling these problems; our ideas reflect reality. In the beginning they were not so clear, but the unfolding of actions and debate allowed ideas to consolidate and explain the problems with greater clarity. It is very good that we have defined these fundamental documents for the Session. The Central Document must be developed in accordance with what was covered in the Preparatory Session. We must prepare a report and work on this in two or three months, to complete it.

These are serious and complex problems; for example, the strategy and tactics of the world revolution or the questions of the People's War in Peru. This report should not be too extensive, it should be clear and simple, so that it can be spread out easily. The revolution needs more elaborated, plain and simple ideas and clear truths. It should be clearly developed, plainly and simply; we must address issues that the militants require, and not fall into subtleties or ambiguities. Sometimes we are pressured by the criteria of the reactionary hacks, specialists in subtleties, double talk and the twisting of ideas. Where does the document go? It goes to the public, to the masses. The masses are engaged in solving decisive and fundamental problems, things that will not be resolved by subtleties, but with well worked-out thoughts, clear ideas, a fusion of our general theory. The document should be geared to the masses that it is aimed at. Some documents are for leaders who have the obligation to study classic works and analyze reality. They should master theory well and apply it with audacity; if we do not handle dialectics well, if we are not sure and astute, then how will we handle things, how will we lead, how will we keep our course? We must give the cadres broader texts, in order to spread ideas more widely. We have peasant militants; we must teach them with concrete and applicable words. Marx founded our theory and we are applying that theory in a proven and true way. Our efforts aim at discovering specific conditions and the appropriate laws as the circumstances demand them.

INTRODUCTION

I. SOCIALISM, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE PARTY, AND MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM.

These are the four points systematically and maliciously attacked by the enemy. Socialism is negated, the dictatorship of the proletariat is attacked, the need for the Party is denied, and the obsolescence of Marxism is proclaimed.

We should recall the fourth Chapter of "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", which contains lessons and truths of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, how to uphold our indestructable principles, the declaration of our convictions, principles, and great truths. Although the document is good, it is said that some comrades have shown problems in studying that part. The document spells out the truth. However, we must aim to defend socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party, and Marxism and to uphold the extraordinary transformations and the unique grandeur that socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party, and Marxism have impressed on the Earth in a few years. It must be made clear that the benefit received by the people and the proletariat was immense, like never before, because before progress was always for the benefit of small groups. It must be made clear that the temporary disappearance of this socialism and the attacks on the ideology of the class has caused much harm. But soon they have realized that what they have lost was immense and it will be reconquered through fire and blood. It was heaven that was lost and we must reconquer it. We must storm the skies again; it is not so complicated.

Mao said: In a few years the world has been transformed like never before; what it took England 250 years to develop, will take China 50 years to do. Here we see the potential of the rela-

tions of production.

The old Tzarist Russia, burdened with centuries of backwardness, with a stifling feudal system that gripped the system from the deepest roots to the most volatile, with a brutal, autocratic dictatorship known as the gendarme of Europe, was toppled by the revolution. Centuries of oppression were swept away and in a few decades reached the highest levels of production and provided the basis of what the revisionists have later used and profited to their advantage, a powerful economy and superpower status.

We should look at the five-year plans, where according to non-Marxist authors like Bernard and Colin, the USSR in the first five-year plan from 1928 to 1932 gave priority to the development of heavy industry, the second five-year plan from 1933 to 1937 prioritized the iron and steel industry, and the third five-year plan from 1938 to 1942 focused on the future mechanized industry. With the Nazi attack in 1941, this plan was interrupted. In sum, the USSR did not even complete the third five-year plan. Before 1928 they had taken power and had to complete pending democratic tasks; later came the New Economic Plan (N.E.P), which was a step backwards to maintain the new Republic. They had to struggle to stabilize that economy. Therefore, they did not even carry out fifteen years of five-year plans and the planning system began in the late 1920s.

They attack the planning system when in reality it was the basis that allows the handling of the economic process serving the interests of the class, exercising its class dictatorship, moving the masses with people capable of managing the society and imposing conditions on the world, planning its laws. That is an expression of freedom, not a puppet show. Economic planning permits the strengthening and unfolding of the social character of production, managing to serve the interests of the majority, and this is something that they do not like at all. Economic planning in the USSR began only in the 1920s since there were serious problems before that period of time. The new state was being born.

The fourth five-year plan was from 1946 to 1950, which was to organize the reconstruction; the fifth was from 1951 to 1955, which gave preference to the building of the means of production. Stalin died in 1953.

There were five five-year plans, 25 years, with a world war in which the Soviet Union had 25 million dead and had to apply a scorched earth policy. The force and conditions created in those times allowed a forceful advance and development until the 1960s, and the drove of revisionists could not contain such a powerful force, the momentum and vigor of the forms generated by the new system which continued to express itself. The five-year plan from 1961 to 1965 gave priority to the economic bases; the plans from 1966 to 1970 and from 1971 to 1975 were to maintain the economic bases.

The first five-year plan gave priority to heavy industry, and Chairman Mao said: Stalin did not know how to manage the system of production well, he bypassed it, and did not allow it to walk on its two feet: agriculture and industry. Despite the errors committed, the momentum of the power of these new social relations created a complete revolution and determined the bases of economic development that satisfied the need of millions.

What system has done anything similar? The United States? This country, for example, had its umbilical cord tied to England, which was already bourgeois; upon reaching the USA the British did not find a feudal base. How many centuries did they need? A long task of centuries, 350 years, which cannot be separated from England. In 30 years, were they able to make a nation like the USSR? Were they able to overcome hunger like in China? What can they boast about? Nothing.

A book issued by the World Bank analyzes 30 years of development in the backwards countries, it analyzes England, USA, Germany, Japan, and China, and says that the one which made the greatest leap in the shortest time to date was China. These are not the laws of Teng, it is the economic development of China based on the accomplishments of the Democratic Revolution and the bases created after Liberation in 1949. These statistics demonstrate that the system made an extraordinary leap in the shortest time.

ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. They say it is totalitarian: Let us see what Chairman Mao said in "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", see who benefits the most: the people and the class. Let us sweep away the trifling double talk of "totalitarianism", this old tale they use to confuse the people. Let us show the benefits of socialism, the advantages the people had. What about the reactionaries, what do the bourgeoisie give to the people?

They proclaim non-partisanship, which aims to dissolve the politics of the working class, the proletariat, and seek only to keep bourgeois politics. To impose their policies, they don't even need political parties any longer, see how they kill. Our politics require bold efforts to be spread and be ingrained in the people and our concerted actions to conquer power.

ON THE QUESTION OF MARXISM. The bourgeoisie is so decrepit that it does not attack Marxism directly, rather they return to ideas from two centuries ago, trying to rehabilitate ultra-reactionary itellectuals, fools like de Tocqueville, a rose-tinted version of the North American bourgeois dictatorship. This is a complete pastime, they say Marxism is obsolete and it doesn't work, but they don't attack it openly. When have they found a basis for this? Apprentices and charlatans like Duhring and the other pack of plunderers of Marxism have boasted about it, but no one has ever proven the obsolescence of Marxism.

In synthesis, we must make a defense of Marxism, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party, seeing the great things they have

generated, whose interests they serve, and counterpose them to the interests served by capitalism, imperialism, the bourgeois dictatorship, the parties. We are not living in ambiguous times. The advance of the revolution requires violent struggles for big ruptures. Chairman Mao said: "Only a great chaos can generate a new order". We have had insufficient chaos, we must generate more, do it at the level of ideas, moving ideas is vital to shape public opinion, without this we cannot conquer power.

II. REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

Lenin said that Engels made the panegyric to revolutionary violence; to a Marxist, to a revolutionary it is appropriate. Praising pacifism, the false peace of bayonets, is appropriate for a reactionary. These are two positions, each one has its peace and each one manages its war. In the world there is an insistence on talking about peace, pacification, dialogue, an unchecked overflow of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas of the most insipid pacifist positions, a stupid venom to poison the class and the masses. Peace, an end to the cold war, but the world continues to be rocked by brutal conflicts like Iraq, with weapons not seen until now, except the atomic bomb. We see massacres, the war in ex-Yugoslavia, in the Caucasus, in the Ukrane, and Moldavia.

There is a combination of repressed things which are going to burst. Look at the imperialist scramble, the U.S. systematically shouting that it has power, the rest feeling a mortal panic, similar to Khrushchev who said that if the U.S. and USSR joined forces, if they raised their little finger, the rest of the world would die of fear. Pomelli said that the U.S. is the only one that can rule. The new gendarme can present itself as all-powerful, as each day it relies more and more on nuclear weapons, raising up military and atomic blackmail. They dream of their "Roman peace", but that peace was imposed by legions of iron on the oppressed.

We must unmask this monstrosity, we must unmask all that propaganda about pacification which is a defense of the exploitative and oppressive order which that pack of imbeciles defends and sustain to earn their daily bread. The question of violence must be made clear, as a counterpart we have seen the Outline of ILA-80 [Initiate the Armed Struggle], an outline on revolutionary violence.

This is an INTRODUCTION, we must demonstrate our conception, which our line, dictatorship, socialism under the guidance of Marxism gave the greatest thing the Earth has seen, and it was lost by a traitorous revisionism. We must see the process of revolution and counter-revolution; we must not be pessimists, the transitions from one system to another are complex, hard, and brutal.

III. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

The Party documents show the basic ideas that need to be developed, we must work on them well, these are the source that will serve us as a basis. In addition, bear in mind the experience of the Party and the experience and lessons to be learned from the work of the Communists. We may not always have a clear understanding of this process:

IMPERIALISM. We must see Lenin's thesis that imperialism is monopolist, parasitical, and in its death-throws and that it is the last phase, like a cancer. We must see Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism is a paper tiger; where is the USSR? It was also a paper tiger. We must understand the law of imperialism and the law of the people. People do not need imperialism, this plague is not needed.

One problem is to aim to see how empires sank and to understand how imperialism and the great empires collapse, the existing states, see how the USSR burst. This was a social-imperialist power with a mask, we saw how a giant with feet of clay burst apart. The collapse of systems happens over long periods of time, they must be understood as unburied corpses. They have a moment of recuperation before even steeper declines and until their total extinction or crushing. It may elapse many years after they are swept away and reappear in other conditions; Spain, for example, it has recovered in the capitalist order but it had sunk before. It is a long but inevitable agony. We can look into history to understand this process.

The current state of the big imperialists, the current economy of imperialism after World War II, is undergoing a serious problem. For example, the United States (USA): How can this country use a quarter of its budget to pay the interest [on the debt]? It is parasitical, and every day more so. It has $4 trillion in debt, $700 billion as foreign debt, its production is in recession, it has a massive unemployment with millions of people who work only to put food on the table. It is a rotten giant with feet of clay.

The German economy is trapped in the incorporation of East Germany; it cannot digest what it has swallowed. Japan has serious problems; for example, its finances, severe recession, and investments. It is not the way they portray it.

We must see the unchecked and relentless manner in which they launch their new policy of collusion and friction. The areas of domination and influence frequently intertwine and frictions have already began. Germany and Japan have to militarize rapidly; we said this before and it turned out to be right. The Japanese military budget is increasing. For example, Japan has a minesweeper in the [Persian] Gulf and it doesn't want to withdraw it. Japan is desperate to be recognized as a power, and for this reason it developed great power politics. It is galloping to become a military power and it tangles with other powers and clashes with the oppressed. We see contradictions, powers, superpowers, readjustments, modifications and problems with the Third World, which show that the privileges they enjoy are all tinsel, rubbish and smoke. Their parasitical

actions have caused death in Africa and have brutalized people in Asia. Because of the policies of imperialism, there are 15 million children who die each year in the world to the benefit and greed of the big magnates in the US (not the people of the US.) We must unmask how vile they are. It is clear how they are sinking in a long death agony, in their inevitable death, their thievery, collusion and contention. These are times of great bellicose clashes. They stoke nationalism to serve their interests. The scramble for the Caucasus began in Central Asia and extended to Mongolia; but their aim is the Third World, which is every day more exploited and oppressed. They achieved some victories with the disintegration of the USSR, proclaiming their "victory", and have presented it as a "revolution", when it was actually the Eastern European counter-revolution. All of this put the ideas of neoliberalism, pragmatism, and bourgeois democracy up in the clouds. Their purpose was to secure the greatest exploitation, to devour as rapidly as possible the gains made by those states over decades of this century. The concentration and dispossession, starting with the movement to expropriate, are under the charge of a handful of magnates who seek to impose their bourgeois democratic system through blood and fire. They developed the great power politics and denied the sovereignty of nations. There is a tendency to collude under the lead of Yankee imperialism to subjugate the oppressed nations. There are clear indications of this policy in Iraq, the threats against North Korea, the aggression against Cuba. What they are scheming will not only be implemented by the USA, but it will involve a group of superpowers and lackeys that seek loot. They will attack Cuba and dream and plot about attacking Korea. They will continue to wage military blackmail against the oppressed nations. But this plundering will generate a reaction. It generates the development of the national struggles. The crisis that grips the imperialist countries will lead to the awakening of the proletariat, which cannot remain as lethargic as in Europe. The problem is that the oppressed nations are the key, the base, the very foundation of the anti-imperialist struggle.

There is one main problem: that revolution is the principal historical and political tendency; we must show it. Contradiction unfolds progress, the majority are for progress, achieving basic living conditions and human development in accordance with the advances of the times. Lenin said in 1913 that the masses don't want to keep living in conditions that don't correspond to the 20th Century. According to economic overviews of the 1950s and 1975, it was concluded that fabulous wealth is being generated; there are specific conditions to live better, and the masses cannot exist in the world in subhuman conditions, in contrast with the colossal wealth and waste.

The world has to advance; progress, development and the revolution are the historical tendency. For that reason, the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois lackeys uphold the negation of progress, development, and advancement. They say that these are erroneous and bourgeois ideas. A bourgeois idea is to believe in progress as a bourgeois development with the mere passage of time. We conceive of progress as a consequence of revolutionary transformation of the class struggle that generates more advanced classes and a more combative people. History has a tendency that goes towards broader freedom for man. This is undeniable, but it is denied claiming these are pseudo-Marxist ideas. However, a contradiction between the new and old exists, and this generates the concept that revolution is the principal tendency. Let us review the editorial from *Peking Review* in May, 1976: "The new always triumphs; the struggle between the new and the old is a form of contradiction." Chairman Mao said that the road is tortuous, but the future is brilliant. Either this contains a contradiction, a reality, or it is a contrivance of brilliant phrases. Nothing follows a straight path, there are always contradictions. Two things contend and tug, for that reason the path is zigzagged; the flow of the rivers whether turbulent or laminar goes through nooks and whirlpools; it overcomes them and reaches the sea. These are material realities; rivers are matter.

We must see how in the development of our people, [refers to the Spanish conquest--Trans.] they were reduced from more than 10 million to 2 million. Now we have grown and the entire country is tinged with *mestizaje*. [trans. mixed race] Historically and politically, revolution is the principal tendency, the other tendency [counter-revolution] is a temporary reversal. When there are problems, pessimism is generated, people say "so much struggle and for what?", but what has been done is never lost.

There is contention between the positive and negative, because the new is superior, it imposes itself. We must see the contradiction, the history, the interests of the masses which will define their future, the socialist future, or one shackled to a master, to imperialism. We must see and understand what the masses want. Their socialist future or their survival under imperialism. To see what the masses want, will define their historical and political consciousness.

The Bankruptcy of Revisionism.

Revisionism entered into bankruptcy without a war, the old revisionism went bankrupt with the war, while the second revisionism came from Khrushchev. It was bankrupt and its regimes have disintegrated. We must link the process of socialism's regression, and then the triumph of revolution, with revisionism. The revisionists are the vanguard of restoration. The revisionists are responsible for it. Socialism did not fail, what has failed was the abandonment of the socialist principles by a revisionist clique in order to adjust it to the old imperialist world order. They have disintegrated their system to be part of the imperialist world order.

We must see the historical period

of the struggle against Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. We must study whether or not it is changing or ending. One of the superpowers is disintegrating, it is becoming disarticulated, its economic system is being scattered, its system of semi-colonies is scattering, but it has not completely ended. One of them is dissolving and the other has serious problems and is following the politics of a "lord" based on military power, but there are others that are stronger and more aggressive, and they are preparing their assault.

The document "Let the Strategic Equilibrium Rock the Country!" says: "In perspective, the principal enemy is the USA", which meant that another will come, it says "principally the USA", and later bitter struggles. We must develop further the theory of the three worlds, two in dispute for world hegemony and other powers seeking to benefit themselves, and there are the immense masses of the oppressed nations. Furthermore, the first world is redefining itself.

IV. PERUVIAN SOCIETY.

There are many Party documents, we should look at the Preparatory Session of the II Plenum. Bureaucrat capitalism is evolving in cycles with gradients, it has temporary recoveries but each new cycle starts from a lower point than the previous one. In 30 years it has been this way. We must see how it is evolving:

- The third stage of bureaucratic capitalism, of contemporary Peruvian society, began in 1980.

- The general crisis is evolving. It can have recoveries until its destruction, with the People's War the process of destruction of the economic system will become aggravated. To the process of destruction of bureaucrat capitalism is added the People's War and for this reason its economy cannot recover like the neighboring countries. Our war is being managed politically, with sabotage and armed strikes, which limits investments. The security factor raises insurance rates, etc.

Bureaucratic capitalism is in decline. It is in decomposition since the 1980s and it is being sunk by the People's War. The loans it gets from imperialism have harsher conditions for the oppressed nations. They can only expect major investments when imperialist interest rates heighten. When they say "what a bad example, we must crush it, send in money," this in turn leads to a more general putrefaction, such as in Vietnam and Korea.

It is necessary to develop the criteria of the two paths. We must see how the peasant path is developing, and how the new economy is developing in contrast. Pedraglio [A legal left polititian--Trans.] says there are beneficial conditions for the Huallaga zone. We see a decline due to the war. We must see how the peasantry is developing, and see also how the seeds and flowers of the New State are opening the way to a new economy.

V. PEOPLES WAR

We must develop the understanding of our specific war. See what are its own laws, how campaigns develop, why they don't develop in a clear and fully developed way. We have our own programs and politics to destroy the system. There is something particular about this war or the circumstances in which it is waged. Consider the fact that the Armed Forces entered on the third year [1983], what is the particularity in this? How did the Initiation develop? The plan to undermine the old order, how do the campaigns develop? How did the stages occur? How does the intervention or aggression by imperialism occur? We must see the peculiarities within the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside, see the scheme, with the countryside as the primary scenario and the cities complementing it. We must find what is specific in our People's War, even in the forms of struggle; for example, the armed strikes are very important.

All of this serves to understand the laws of our war. We are now in the Strategic Equilibrium. We must prepare the synthesis of the laws of war of the entire first stage, and on that basis establish the laws of the second stage and outline the laws of the third stage in order to choose the appropriate, specific path of the People's War.

Thus, we will handle and crush the acts, activities, and campaigns waged by the reactionaries to recover themselves and thus persist in the conquest of power.

We must know the path to follow and define the laws of the war. We must see the nature of our army, see how we built it, and now give it a more developed organization; the legions of iron have their own particulars. We must study Strategy and Tactics.

There are three parts to define, in the first we must spread a clear understanding of the war, its course, situation, and perspective so that the masses, the class, and the peasantry will understand. By taking up our laws we will reach our inexorable goal. If we commit no errors the time span will be minor. There is a variable of repercussion, the international situation, but the revolution is sustained here, although outside support is indispensable; one of the considerations focus on this. They [U.S. imperialism--Trans.] may intervene, the political conditions demand that they expand and exemplify so that such a bad example doesn't spread. They may launch their system and give a crushing blow and things may become more serious. It is a probability, but another Vietnam is not convenient for them; the turn that things are taking in the USA is saying "they should tremble" and "no one should dare to raise their voice", hence that the development of "imposing", how can they let a youngster impale them up front? Their necessity may demand to crush us, but we will keep on fighting. It is better to be ready for all conditions.

(1) the importance of this, a limitation, is that it doesn't consider the specific character of our People's War. They don't apply their tactics to the specific conditions; each day we will have to confront new problems ...

(2) they talk and talk, and what

do they apply from this? We must understand basic things, understand what is specific about the principal thing. Some make mistakes, they prefer to keep shaking their heads, because at heart they don't want the war. The situation in Peru will become more acute.

The cadre and militants must be forged in general warfare, revolutionary warfare, and the war in this country.

VI. CONSTRUCTION

(3) [Reserved due to its confidential nature--Trans.]

VII. STRATEGIC PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

•A new plan that takes into account all the experiences of these years, again establishing its main points, subpoints, directions, and lines of movement with an outline of its general characteristics.

•In 1978, we said the countryside was principal, the cities complementary; the situation of Peru, etc. In the 1986 Party document [*Develop the People's War Serving the World Proletarian Revolution*, August 1986--Trans.]there was a sketch. We must outline all of Peru and its regions, to build it in a great unity; for example, to see the sierra, the south, the east, Loreto, Madre de Dios, which is a weak point in this state; see the borders, the coast, if we don't handle things this way, what plan are we talking about? We must see the principal regions, the fundamentals, others, defining each of them. We must see city and countryside. Yesterday we saw the transfer of land in the countryside. We must develop the People's War and prepare conditions for the insurrections in the cities.

We must see how to understand the countryside-city [contradiction], develop the war in the countryside and see how to manage it in the cities. The reactionaries are proposing to pass over to defend their cities, which are their strong points. See how in the slums they develop civic actions, intelligence, and control. The revolution from the countryside to the city begins to touch points in the cities; they are retreating, this is revealed by seeing the work plan in the cities, ...

(4) we must seek other forms of developing and launching military campaigns of the strategic plan, fixing our sights, for example, on such objectives and completing them in time.

(5) Their necessity is to develop campaigns to recover and hold, we must prepare ourselves for that...

(6). We must resolve the question of the General Command Centers [Estados Mayores], thinking on them is a complex issue, its personnel system; a Command Center that must decide what force must go there and develop; for example, in the northeast campaign in China (see Vol. IV.) They sent cadre, troops, and arms. Thus, the plan, the more it is managed the more it develops. It must have more initiative and give more weight to the subjective capacity and have a greater criterion of a unified work. The war needs more thought. We see too many bastardized local forces. Either we see the war in a unified way or some will be thrown out.

(7) We must see the Strategic Plan of Construction. It is already being applied as a pilot plan. Very little is reported about the construction, only that it is being applied. And the experiences? In the meetings of the committees we must plan the Strategic Plan of Construction. We must see how in the preparatory session of the II Plenum there are documents. We see the course of the organic line, always seeing first our own experiences in everything. We must make a Strategic Plan of Construction. On three bases and three guides, bearing in mind the following: In the general orientation of Party work, construction is the base, the People's War is principal, and the Congress is the guide. In the work of construction, the Party is the guide, the Army is principal, and the New State is central. "Develop, Build, and Conquer!", this slogan is appropriate.

Regarding the three instruments. The Party says "develop them." The Strategic Plan (see the Preparatory Session of the Central Committee, outline point 2) refers to the Strategic Plan of Construction, this is not quite accurate, it should say Develop the Strategic Plan of Construction of the Party, the Army, and the United Front.

We must develop our work with initiative, flexibility, and planning. We must make a Strategic Plan of Construction for each apparatus, seeing its base and guide.

For the Party. Specify its growth and consolidation.

For the Army, develop it and strengthen it, its structure, its construction, its training. (See the consolidation in "On the Appearance of *The Communist* Magazine"). See institutions, infantry, artillery, for example grenades and mortars; the immense mass is infantry, cavalry to develop faster deployment; communications, health. Give training in improvement. In warfare, elevate the bellicosity and seize arms. Strengthening has to do with bellicosity.

In the New State, it must be extended and given stability. In the Party, organize the Central Department. Expand the Central Committee.

(8) In the Army, strengthen the army in mobile warfare, develop and raise its fighting capacity. In the New State, form a government and develop the state organization, having a plan, base, and guide and a key problem; always take up key problems.

In the Front, see how we are materializing it;

(9) The axis for the Front is the concrete program. We must see the alliance, the hegemony of the proletariat, the four classes. We need the Front to conquer power. If there is an imperialist aggression, it will be converted into a National Front, which will also lead to contradictions. When we have proposed strengthening national production, even the national bourgeoisie are in agreement with this, there are convergences and divergences.

The VI Plan to Build the Conquest of Power. In 1981 we applied a plan that studied the country; it would be good to return to this study of the country 10 years later.

This plan will be applied here, in an old society but serving the interests of the new that is developing, and that the Party is leading.

Central Committee, PC P
Peru, March 1992

INSTRUCTIONS

[Editor's Note. These are selected extracts from the June 1994 document "Instructions" published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). Points 1-8, and 14-18 are not being published here. They will appear in the next issue.]

POINT 9. ON MILITARY PRINCIPLES.

Firmly apply the ten military principles established by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Pay close attention to these ten, but particularly emphasize items 5, 6 and 10.

"Our principles of operation are:

1. Attack dispersed, isolated enemy forces first; attack concentrated, strong enemy forces later.

2. Take small and medium cities and extensive rural areas first; take big cities later.

3. Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times.

4. In every battle, concentrate an absolutely superior force (two, three, four and sometimes even five or six times the enemy's strength), encircle the enemy forces completely, strive to wipe them out thoroughly and do not let any escape from the net. In special circumstances, use the method of dealing crushing blows to the enemy, that is, concentrate all our strength to make a frontal attack and also to attack one or both of his flanks, with the aim of wiping out one part and routing another so that our army can swiftly move its troops to smash other enemy forces. Strive to avoid battles of attrition in which we lose more than we gain or only break even. In this way, although we are inferior as a whole (in terms of numbers), we are absolutely superior in every part and every specific campaign, and this ensures victory in the campaign. As time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole and eventually wipe out all the enemy.

5. Fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle you are not sure of winning; make every effort to be well prepared for each battle, make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the enemy and ourselves.

6. Give full play to our style of fighting -- courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting (that is, fighting successive battles in a short time without rest).

7. Strive to wipe out the enemy through mobile warfare. At the same time, pay attention to the tactics of positional attack and capture enemy fortified points and cities.

8. With regard to attacking cities, resolutely seize all enemy fortified points and cities which are weakly defended. Seize at opportune moments all enemy fortified Points and cities defended with moderate strength, provided circumstances permit. As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait until conditions are ripe and then take them.

9. Replenish our strength with all the arms and most of the personnel captured from the enemy. Our army's main sources of manpower and materiel are at the front.

10. Make good use of the intervals between campaigns to rest, train and consolidate our troops. Periods of rest, training and consolidation should in general not be very long, and the enemy should so far as possible be permitted no breathing space." (*Selected Works,* Vol. IV, pp. 161-162)

POINT 10. ON IDEOLOGICAL DYNAMICS.

Keep this in mind bcause it is the basis for the hoax (patraña) and all campaigns of the enemy. We must vaccinate ourselves against this disease so that it doesn't spread, pulling the weeds out so they don't infest the entire Party.

A) CHAIRMAN MAO: "The present conference... I hope you comrades here will keep your eyes open." (*Selected Works,* Vol. V, pp. 350-359)

B) PRESIDENT GONZALO: "The Party and its current ideological dynamic must combat revisionism as the principal danger."

"The Party has demonstrated that it has a wise and firm grasp of the two line struggle; the problem we denote here is how the problems of class struggle today have repercussions among us, how do the new problems have repercussions, and what repercussions do the new leaps we make, have. Today we are in a new, and qualitatively superior leap than at the beginning. If it is to succeed on all levels, it requires principally an ideological leap that puts us at the level of understanding the necessity of the decision to conquer power nationwide.

This problem takes us to the necessity of struggling against revisionism as the main danger, not because the Party has or is taking a revisionist line, rather because, keeping in mind the Party's history, to distance ourselves from the proletarian line leads to revisionism. Furthermore, the incorrect solution of new problems can cause deviations from the line, which tends towards revisionism.

Revisionism is a danger at a universal level for every Communist and revolutionary, and for the people as well. Let us recall Chairman Mao when he warned us to protect ourselves from revisionism in the Central Committee. For us, if revisionism is able to weaken and usurp the Party, there would not be three

changes, but four: change in leadership, change in line, change in the Party, such as in 1979, but now there would also be a change in the People's War. There could be an abandonment of the People's War, the most priceless service to reaction which is suffering serious problems today, or it might remain as a purely armed struggle or mercenary troops at the service of the highest imperialist bidder; but that would no longer be a people's war nor serve the emancipation of the class or people. Note that the four changes materialize first in change of leadership; this doesn't change the fact that the struggle begins with ideas". (Summary document of the Congress of the PCP, p. 40-41)

C) PRESIDENT GONZALO: "**To analyze and understand that we can conquer power and establish the People's Republic of Peru against wind or tide. It can be sustained by the power of arms in the armed sea of masses with the powerful state** that is emerging among the people; with a Party as the solid axis in our ideology, in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Although some have doubts, as they did before, about the sweet truth of the conquest of power, it is feasible. This is how things should be put in perspective. Should we fear the truth even it is bitter? It is in the two-line struggle (where there are cadres who may be advanced, intermediate or beginners) that we strive to understand and study. Our task is to find its laws and handle them with firmness and decisiveness.

He who does not fear the death of a thousand cuts dares to unseat the emperor. Be prepared to give your life for the Party. If we have absolute unselfishness, what can we be afraid of? The masses make history and the Party leads. What are we lacking? We are all transitory, but the Party is not; let us make the Party into a fortress, allow no rot or revisionism.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is unfading, we will not concede. What should we do? Seize Power. Why do some comrades, combatants and masses fail to understand this truth? Because in the beginning few can see it, the Communists are the first who must understand and arm the combatants and the people. We learn from the masses to see reality. The fact of the matter is that the task before us is big and new. Whatever is still unkown, always generates misunderstanding and doubts. The reactionaries used to say: "they will never take power, and even if they could, the democratic countries will not allow it, they will be invaded." This ideological dynamic has repercussions. Why do some have doubts? Communists who doubt are laggers, among combatants more so and masses even more. Why should this surprise us? We are starting to understand what Party the is. It is the heroic combatant and the power of the masses that are building their destiny with their own hands. Aren't you making ambushes and assaults? Victory is stamped in your face not defeat [en la cara llevas la victoria no la derrota]. Are we pessimistic? Why so much pessimism? With great victories you want loadings of victory [con altas victorias quieren alforjas de victoria]" (III Plenum CRN, Communist Party of Peru)

POINT 11. ON COSTS.

Our obligation as leaders is to struggle for the smallest possible cost. Keep in mind that costs also express themselves in construction; for that reason the problem is to construct organizations superior to those of the reactionaries.

Chairman Mao: "wherever we are...that would call our attention" [*Quotations of Chaiman Mao Tsetung*, p. 200]

Bases of Discussion: "All the orienting principles ... and the second one is principal" [p. 83-84].

PRESIDENT GONZALO: "Our obligation as leaders is to struggle that the cost be the smallest as possible. Let us remember the August 1980 meeting of the Central Committee. At that time we agreed on this issue. It is important to make precise calculations so that you will know what is the real cost required by the revolution and also to understand the excesses in cost of the enemy. Thus, when there is a firm passion there are no jeremiads; we are not here to whine, rather we are here to convert pain into strength and a powerful energy to demolish the enemy. We must know what heroism is being squandered and for what". (III Plenum CRN, Central Committee PCP)

12. ON INFLECTION.

Keep in mind what was established in 1985 on the three causes of inflection. The third one is principal.

1) the fluidity of war;
2) the enemy's actions;
3) Rightism.

PRESIDENT GONZALO: "In order for the revolution to triumph, it will engender and crush a powerful counter-revolution ; we are entering, therefore, decisive years in which APRA [the ruling party at that time--Trans.] will continue without a strategic plan. They talk of a 'new strategy' but there is none, the only thing they can do is provide greater means, to pass political, economic, and social laws, strengthen the military in order to facilitate that the armed forces will fight us by means of a greater genocide in new conditions, for us as well as them. For us the genocide under way is faced with new conditions, we have passed the genocide of 1983 and 1984, which showed the great popular repudiation and strengthening of the revolution. The reactionaries can do nothing except apply genocidal policies, but these fortify the People's War; there may be initial retreats or inflections, but we will win by persisting in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, in our politics of the five developments, the invincibility of the People's War, and in the support of the people who make, and will continue to make, history, always under the leadership of the Communist Party". [Bases of discussion, p. 74]

13. ON RESOLVING NEW PROBLEMS WITH

MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM GONZALO THOUGHT (M-L-M, GT).

PRESIDENT GONZALO: 'Finally in addressing the problems of Ayacucho, the Pary has learned an important lesson regarding the application of M-L-M.'

In the problem of the application of M-L-M; the question is the specific character of the Peruvian revolution and the key is to resolve new problems with M-L-M, GT. I reiterate, the question is how to apply M-L-M to our Peruvian revolution.

Three points are established:

First, in the problem of the application of M-L-M; application is the principal thing. Extracting truths from Marxism is the first leap, but the principal leap is the application of these truths to transformation, to the practical transformation of reality; this is the main thing. The problem, therefore, is not simply knowing Marxism, the problem is to apply it. The problem is not knowing M-L-M, the problem is applying M-L-M, that's the point.

Second, the question is the specific character of the Peruvian revolution! What is indicated here is how to apply Marxism to a specific reality, to a concrete reality; here the specific and peculiar arise. What should preoccupy us is what is the peculiar, the local, the specific, for example, in the way we build the Army; what is specific about bureaucratic capitalism here in Peru, what is specific about the New State of the People's Republic of New Democracy. That is important.

Third, the key is to resolve new problems with M-L-M, GT. Why is this the key? Because the revolution establishes many new problems; for example, the People's Republic of Peru is a new problem, does it have a link with the People's Republic of New Democracy? Of course, but it is of another dimension, it is one state among other states, a joint dictatorship, and a new problem. The problem of the strategic offensive of the revolution: will it be a new one or not? Of course. The problem of the relative stability of the New State; the problem of the development of education; the problem of organizing production throughout the country; obviously, all these are new problems. Well then, if we want to solve them we must apply M-L-M, GT; if not, we will not resolve the new problems of the revolution. That is why it is key. Of the three points this is the principal. Why? Because we have an application of many years, we have our own experience, a manner of acting, and we know the laws of the Peruvian revolution. What's happening and lacking is that either we are not detailing them enough or they are not specified and generalized as they should be, or we don't note them sufficiently. That is the problem. If we have to resolve new problems, we will only do so if we take up M-L-M, GT, simply and concretely. [CC of the PCP, Report of the III Plenum, CSP p. 16]

19. ON THE NECESSITY OF RAISING THE ORGANICITY OF THE PARTY TO THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, TO THE LEVEL OF THE CONQUEST OF POWER COUNTRYWIDE.

The organic forms goes in accordance with the political process. They follow and serve political ends, and our politics is the People's War for the conquest of power nationwide. With regards to the organic forms, President Gonzalo said that now, necessarily, there would have to be a leap in their development because they were lagging behind with respect to politics. This is a problem that should have been resolved by the III Plenum and is still pending. If this situation is not addressed, it will continue to arise because the organic forms should be at the level of development of the People's War. Furthermore, keep in mind that there are things that were good yesterday but are not appropriate today. Also, we should understand that as we unfold in the strategic equilibrium, the struggle of life and death between revolution and counter-revolution sharpens and the enemy has learned lessons. This is another reason to develop new organic forms and to build apparatuses superior to the reactionaries. We must understand this well and treat this problem seriously and thoroughly, applying these principles to every concrete situation.

A). PRESIDENT GONZALO. "If you know the Party, there is contradiction. For instance, we want the advance of the Party, making a leap in construction applying the principle of construction, it is necessary to introduce new forms of struggle as well as new organic forms, new methods of leadership, new styles of work, which is to say more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought according to the necessity of conquering power. This does not mean to invent new forms, it means that from the experience we have, introduce new, more developed forms. For example, what the armed strikes are showing us is that they are being managed better every day and we are putting the reactionaries in a serious bind. A short while ago, an armed strike in the central region paralyzed the heartland of the reactionary economic system: Juaja, Concepción, Oroya, within the same region; or look at the military action developed by the Apurimac Committee, it carried out mobile warfare over eight days to strike deeply into Chuquibamba, and left after seven days of military confrontations, breaking through ten encirclements to shake up Arequipa [Peru's second largest city--Trans.]. From another perspective, look at the campaigns and counter-campaigns in the central regions in 1989, 1990, 1991. What do they show? The Zonal Committee of Ayacucho carried out four confrontations that lasted more than seven hours, involving 50 men to 500 and we have defeated them. It is a battle and we have confronted them. Within the process of the People's War it is a great battle, it is not an assault nor an ambush, these are battles. War itself is generating new forms of strug-

gle, higher and more developed, as is being shown.

Even the last genocide (May 1992), was it done in the same conditions as under Garcia Perez [in 1986]? No. It was in worse political conditions, everything is against the reactionaries; four days of resistance have to do with the experience of 1986, with a greater tempering, with the presence of leaders that we remember with profound affection and for whom we render homage. Our process shows that we are advancing since 1986; a sinister, wicked genocide that they said would sweep us away. Haven't higher shining trenches of combat surged ahead? Four days of resistance in the eyes of the world, haven't they shown what a warrior is, a Communist of the true Communist Party? We are finding new things.

In accordance with materialist principles what exists resists death, furthermore what is old resists and pretends to persist and reestablish itself in what is new. Consider, even in the simple phenomena of doing what is already know, there is a tendency to do what is managed by the law of conservation of force, these are material things. The problem is not to curse the darkness but rather to light a candle in its midst. What is old is restored, is reestablished, refuses to die and disappear.

Thus, classes and their previous situations all have repercussions. It is obvious that every class wishes to have its interests represented in the state, there are four classes and their contradictions multiply, each class will try to satisfy its class interests, we must do the same... After this comes the petty bourgeoisie, then the national bourgeoisie. There is not just one contradiction, there are many and these imply divergences or convergences. The same happens in the Party's work, isn't there a counter-positioning between mass work and military action, between ideological construction and organic construction? There is contradiction between bases and leadership; the problem is that we can't utilize bases to challenge leadership, it is wrong, it is not our line, this must never be done. There is always a center and a periphery, there are always centrifugal and centripetal forces. Tomorrow, when we make a government, there will be a contradiction between the people and government. The question is how will we handle them, we must understand their class character. For example, the peasantry will want all [the land] transferred to them at once. We must see which is principal, what is primary; not all can be resolved at one time. We must see the gradations, the different interests. Contradiction is resolved in a process of principal contradiction and its principal aspect; we must keep in mind multiple contradictions, their process and the principal and fundamental contradiction, struggle is the absolute and unity is the relative." [III Plenum, Report to the CRN, p. 6A]

B) President Gonzalo: "But since there are new ... force" (III Plenum, Central document for CSE, p. 57)

20. THE PROBLEMS WE FACE HAVE TWO SOURCES.

1. Problems of development, the problems of the new.

2. Problems linked to struggle. Among them are:

a. divergences within the Left and

b. problems of a structured right opportunist line or what leads to it. That is to say, in some cases it is structured and in others are merely points.

Therefore, we should differentiate the issues in question and don't make a fuss about it. To distinguish between problems of development and problems that concern the right opportunist line; in these we must distinguish between those who have a structured right opportunist line from those who have antagonistic points.

Ideological Characteristics of the Reactionary Regime

Let us aim at the main measures taken so far by this government without ignoring the general comments and demagogic statements we hear every time the reactionaries change their authorities, specially when they attempt to cover up their positions.

I. SLOGAN AND APPLICATION

In his inauguration, like a good lackey, Fujimori imitates the way his masters are sworn in the United States. He starts by giving thanks to God and ends by saying: "May God shine on me and the people." On one side he expresses his ideology and adherence to Catholicism, a bitter and profoundly worn out ideology; on the other side, politically this is no more than demagogy to play with the religious feeling of the masses and to blame God for previous and future mistakes. He seeks to gain the support of the Catholic Church with which he already has had clashes. A president like this, deceitful and a hypocrite, someone who does not represent the people because he is opposed to the people and he seeks to exploit the people even further, must be opposed with more People's War.

SLOGANS OF THE TYRANNY:

"HONESTY, TECHNOLOGY AND LABOR." Honesty as a norm of life, symbol of the ancient Peruvian civilization which Belaunde and others have also manipulated; an approach to establish a link to the Inca civilization and dress it up with nationalism. This first part of his slogan aims at combating immorality and upholds a "crusade for moralization." Again, this is nothing new. General Morales Bermudez pushed this campaign, what was the result? Corruption. What is the result of the first year of Fujimori's rule? Widespread corruption. The immoral corrupted ways are direct products of this old system, the rest is no more than cheap petty politics to traffic with the good faith of the masses and mislead people's conscience. Fujimori proposed a committee against corruption with persons selected by him and who respond only to him.

"RESPECT FREEDOM OF INFORMATION." How many journalists has he assassinated or imprisoned so far? In essence, freedom of information is only so for the exploiters and their lackeys. It is an essential key to create counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist public opinion.

"TECHNOLOGY." It is imperialism which raises "technology" as a new revolution; revisionism goes along with it. The aim is to substitute class struggle for a so-called technological revolution. Science has developed an advanced technology.

These scientific and technological developments are products of the proletariat's and the people's transforming practice, their labor and collective creativity; however, the financial oligarchy, the big bourgeoisie, and imperialism appropriate such advances as private property and as means for exploitation. Under the shadow of this, a layer of technocrats unfolds who skillfully attempt to misplace the working class towards a fake revolution, through high sounding dreams among petty bourgeois intellectuals, a fake revolution with a different road to follow, without class struggle. Still, it is only through revolution that science and technology can evolve further as never before, because only with revolution will the productive forces develop further to benefit those below.

"LABOR." It expresses a bourgeois conception. The economists of the 18th century proposed that the source of all wealth is labor; Marx very clearly explained it, it is labor power, such generates surplus value, and the accumulation of surplus value engenders capitalism, and in consequence relations of capitalist exploitation. Fujimori employs the word 'labor' to deceive the petty bourgeoisie protecting its work conditions, and he attempts to expand such deception among the proletarians. But Fujimori goes further and states: "culture based on labor", that is to wipe out its class character; he seeks support for the deception that it is possible to make a new society based on labor, without exploitation; this is another monstrosity of imperialism and the reactionaries. He says 'labor is the creative source', is it simply enough to labor in order to make a prosperous society? and, who leads such society? it would be more prosperous only for the classes who dominate society; behind the song of a 'new culture of labor', besides strictly being a reactionary bourgeois conception of labor, there is a cover-up to preserve, decorate and elevate imperialism. For example, it is said 'he calls for international solidarity with results', this is to make believe that imperialism and the oppressed nations, such as Peru, have common solidarity when their relations are of submission and domination; and, in the last years, to call on imperialism's participation in the country is to call on it against the People's War. He continues 'During decades... to get us out of underdevelopment'; that is imperialism's orientation and demand in the last few years which, because of the shortage of capitals, impose that states under domination depend on internal savings, on the capital accumulated by squeezing their own people, in synthesis to further squeeze the proletarians and working people. The lack of development has its roots in semi-feudalism, in bureaucratic capitalism, in imperialism; but for Fujimori, faithful lackey, there is no imperialism, the problem is uneven and unjust exchange; but is it not true that imperialism sustains itself through the plundering of both the world's peoples and its own people? The so called 'foreign aids' are their ways to suck blood.

The bourgeois root of this new culture of labor is expressed also when he says that such will generate the conditions for a new order in the market; behind this cheap talk they seek to impulse their market economy, liberalism; as they said in their government proposal in May, before the elections, the problem is to create markets of diverse types to form new markets particularly in the agricultural sector (revealing a semi-feudal base); he says that this culture of labor will allow a better distribution of wealth and prevent concentrations, that is monopolies, but later we shall see that they aim only against State monopolies, Enci, Ecasa, Petro Peru.

Let us consider, he does not say social market economy, only market economy. Well then, let us deal with this theory of market economics that is being preached in the country and around the world. In the Economic and Financial Dictionary of Bernard and Colly, "market" is defined as the place in which deals for purchase and sale or leasing of goods and services of capitals are made; a place where supply and demand meet. Nevertheless, it says later that the theory defending the need for markets is liberalism, a position being openly upheld by the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialism. Liberalism is defined as follows: an economic doctrine which affirms that the best economic system is the one guaranteeing the free play of the economic agents' individual initiatives. It does not say State agents; they, the reactionaries, formulate that individual interests and those of society coincide, and from these they regulate and come up with norms; in the market, then, free individual initiatives occur, each one seeking the greatest benefit with the least effort, and there they match the interest of each with the interest of the whole, unfolding their natural laws, their own laws; it is free play operating in the market and the State has no reason to intervene; it is free gathering of those interested in grabbing their self interests, and since the interests of each one and the interests of the whole meet there, in the market, they match the interests of all with each one's interests. Then they highlight natural laws that generate equilibriums when imbalances are produced.

Thus, now the reactionary bourgeois theory of labor by remaining on appearances, it perceives fetishism, and by remaining on the relations of commodities in exchange it does not per-

ceive the source, how such commodities are created, how such wealth is created, it does not see the source of commodities; it does not see the real root, labor power (the force of labor) which is the real source generating everything that unfolds in the economy; such truth is not interesting to the reactionaries. For this reason we must remember what Marx observed, it is not 'labor' but labor power, it is not the exchange of commodities and services nor the leasing of commodities and services, rather, these are the relations of exploitation which have their own laws. This is the Marxist position regarding economics. Their position, that of the bourgeoisie, the so-called market theory, makes comparisons of purchase and sale or leasing of goods and services and it covers up the exploitation relations existing behind such exchange.

This links all the preaching that they throw in the air for market economy, for free commerce, for freedom of association, human rights; such are, thus, 18th century liberalism with new appetizers and dressing.

What does the Peruvian Constitution mention in relation to such problem? In article 115 it says: 'private initiative is free. It is exercised as a social market economy. The State stimulates and regulates its exercise to harmonize it with the social interest'. This is the economic system of Peruvian society. It is in its own Constitution.

A representative of the Peruvian comprador bourgeoisie, Chirinos Soto, deals with article 115 and says: Garcia Perez used to say that if private initiative is not exercised in a market economy, then it is neither private nor free. There goes the great announcer of a popular, democratic and nationalist revolution, demanding a market economy!

The most theoretical scribbler on market economy, W. Ropke, says the essence of the market economy system is that it can only occur in a competitive system opposed to every collectivist system, in other words, opposed to the socialist system. Thus, it is its antithesis, its opposite. He also says that such is the best system to defend private property, because in the market economy competition can be expressed, and in this way the best conditions to guarantee property are given, as he says, it defends property from all attacks.

From all of the above, we can derive that such forms allow the development of capitalism, its best advances, aiming at monopolies.

Reagan, who loudly proclaimed this theory, said that all anti-monopoly laws should be abolished, since the persistence of such laws in the USA limits the competitive capacity of USA's companies confronting Japanese and Germans operating without such restrictions.

Then, we can conclude that their market economy system is the one which allows the development of capitalism and its expansion as imperialism, because if on one side imperialism restricts competition, on the other side it opens up competition at the World level, this is its contradiction. Monopolies impose prices and generate markets, but at the same time they struggle in competition against each other through imperialism, this is why reactionaries are not against all monopolies, but only against State monopolies. Even Chirinos Soto says the modern State intervenes to guarantee the market economy, it does not retreat, it intervenes to secure it, to make its rules function. Thus, they are against State monopolies but still accept the State to operate certain businesses, under certain circumstances, and as long as these are useful for the market economy, and if the State is of any use, well, then they use it. What do they say in relation to restricted access for monopolies? Let us just look at Germany and Japan.

Chirinos Soto says that the adversaries of private initiative claim that such initiative leads to production for profit and not to satisfy needs, and Chirinos says to claim this is a perfect absurdity, because production generated by a capitalist is not to satisfy needs, if a capitalist searches for a product with the most demand, it is so in order to obtain the product that can be sold best, which at the same time will allow him to produce more, to hire more workers and consequently obtain greater surplus value; it is not love for the consumer, but rather it is a means to obtain greater surplus value. Therefore, whatever Chirinos says regarding a system which allows better prices and better quality is pure cheap talk.

Chirinos Soto is an ultra-liberal, he has been so since the 1950's, and we find his propositions in Fujimori who is a liberal to the bone; the problem is that Peru's actual conditions do not permit him to express himself as he is, that is why he talks of using the State to promote market economy. For example, Fujimori says the market is a great referendum of buyers, a complete big bourgeois!

Erhardt, author of the 1948 'German miracle', a Christian democrat and master of Bedoya [a right-wing politician in Peru--Trans.], says there are three questions synthesized in the theory of market economy:

1) complete elimination of inflation;

2) promote production on all levels; and

3) maintain the rules of the market economy. But if we see Peru today, what are they achieving? They have not eliminated inflation, at most they have lowered it but not as much as they wanted; there is recession and there is no consumption because there is a lack of purchasing power capacity, there is deflation.

A representative of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie Alberto Ruiz Eldrege [a former advisor to Gen. Velasco--Trans.], in his book 'the Constitution on Comment' informs that it was the United Left (IU) who proposed a social market economy, and it defended such position by recalling events in Germany in 1948. Today there is also much talk to imitate the German model of those years, the 'German miracle'; but they do not see the specific conditions,

Germany was defeated in World War II, the occupying military powers applied an organized distribution system of consumption guaranteed by the State, and the Marshall Plan brought immense capitals to counter socialist actions in Europe. Having emerged from a fascist regime 'the postulates of the new order' were applied: personal freedom, social justice and economic efficiency; the German theoreticians who advocate the thesis of market economy establish that it starts by considering all the components of social production as a whole, for example, the cultural, moral, legal, and economic orders. From this comes their present moral preaching; in Europe, they say, facing the supposed decline of socialism, what remains is morality; but this is not new, it comes from the old revisionism of the II International, from Kautsky, who claimed that Marxism has no philosophy and what it deserved instead was Kantism. Kant thought that man in his actions is guided by morals, seeking the common good. So, the legal component is based on thinking that through laws, without changing the class dictatorship, it is possible to change the people's situation; there we find the formulations of Hernando de Soto [an advisor to Fujimori--Trans.], the law for rural registration, for administrative improvements, procedures for identifying micro and small businesses, the informal, the arrangements for the coca procedures, etc. The economic component, obviously, seeks to impose an imperialist system. The cultural order is another established aspect and there we have a link to Fujimori's position, his new culture of labor. Of the four components they center on morals but it has a long revisionist precedent, in essence they hide the relations of exploitation.

The German imperialist system of a social market economy sustains some basic ideas: it does not impede struggle among monopolies, it regulates monopolies, and the objective? To diminish the contradictions between themselves and the countries they exploit; it creates a system of social security aiming at a series of social benefits as complements to their economic plans and to appease class struggle, and at the same time it is a magnificent economic resource; a price stabilization policy to soften inflation and diminish the crisis. A basic idea is to join in unity with an order of competition with an order of social compensation; all these are measures to appease class struggle.

Therefore, the social market economy is the system of German imperialism, it is socially oriented to buffer class struggle and promote class conciliation. In this way, the IU, by including article 115 in the constitution, is favoring the most thriving and powerful capitalist development as possible; they even forget that Peru is not Germany, thus seeking to develop bureaucratic capitalism.

In Peru, what is being discussed today? If not the theory of social market economy, what they advertise and try to apply today is a market economy, plain and simple, without the social part because that is what principally US imperialism demands, through CEPAL, which claims 'economic transformation with equity'; social is a term that sometimes they use without including its content; equity is equivalent to justice, and such is oriented by ethics, by morality. This is the path being imposed on Peru, it is the path of Vargas Llosa, of the big bourgeois Fujimori, lackeys of imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism.

These ideas resound among petty bourgeois intellectuals who serve imperialism, and they repeatedly think and prepare a number of catch words, with sounds of verbal criticism, but it is a real support for imperialism, and always proposing ways to restrain class struggle. For example, the English historian Toynbee who claims that the proletariat must be elevated to the level of 'middle class' to make up an amalgamation of classes, as a social buffer, and apply social justice, economic productivity, and in this way suppress and prevent revolution.

As we see, the new culture of labor is serving to paint imperialist exploitation with pretty colors, to impulse the market economy and aim against state monopolism. This latter aspect remains clear in a paragraph of the message where the project for the anti-monopoly law is proposed.

Linked to this new culture of labor there is also the so-called 'full participation', it comes from previous fascist governments; in essence it is to employ the mass organizations, to control them through the labor aristocracy, with the unions' remains, in order to be used as support for the old State; from this comes their proposal for a law of popular participation to control public opinion, this is no more than 'syndicate socialism', as revisionism proposes; it is the formation of a social buffer to apply to their system. We saw the same pattern with Velasco, with Garcia, and now with Fujimori.

Going along with this new culture of labor there is an administrative improvement [administrative simplification] which is nothing new, it comes from Garcia Perez. At the same time comes the matching of customs' procedures and export promotion for products from small and medium sized businesses, but behind this comes the export promotion for big firms. Linked to reliance on one's own efforts there is the push to get Peru re-introduced into the international financial community; thus, to develop the new culture of labor, Peru cannot remain disconnected from the world imperialist system; this means to seek the country's development under the domination of imperialism, principally Yankee, and its instruments: IMF, BID, World Bank, GATT. Then the tale to restart old links is no more than resolving the foreign debt in order to attract foreign investment.

In synthesis, all these mean, under the false proof of a new culture of labor, that in order for our efforts to make labor more prosperous, we must be under the domination of imperial-

ism through the international financial community, which calls for a resolution for foreign investments. This is the bottom line of Fujimori's propagandistic slogan, it has, thus, a whole content, and behind demagogic words there is a cover up submission to imperialism, to re-impulse bureaucratic capitalism under imperialism.

[Extract from the Book: "Let the Strategic Equilibrium Rock the Country", Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru.]

Prepare the Strategic Offensive through the Construction of the Conquest of Power

Based on a retransmittion of the Central Committee of the PCP, January 1995 (Part 2)

Reaffirm Ourselves on the Basis of Party Unity and Build the Conquest of Power!

In the international, national, and party situation that made the detention historic, we have been applying the VI and penultimate Military Plan that put all the forces in tension to complete what was established by the Third Plenum of the PCP.

We are undeclinably pursuing the First Campaign, defending the life of President Gonzalo and defeating the enemy, because the torch remains lit. The Second Campaign was developed in September 1993 to June 1994, realizing a powerful victory, crushing the most developed campaigns of encirclement and annihilation launched by the enemy in those 13 years, on top of which they launched the counter-revolutionary hoax. They newly dreamed of a "quick victory", in which they would liquidate us in a few months, but the People's War was not only maintained, it developed, which demonstrates how profoundly it is rooted in the people who have no other need. They clamor from their deepest soul for more and more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War, and the red flag remained flaming, even higher, with our leader President Gonzalo and our glorious PCP.

On the basis of these two the Third Campaign was established, which has been an all-round and brilliant success, a crushing campaign in which we have been powerfully crushing the enemy. This is shown by the Ayacucho Committee, that between August and the beginning of November 1994, in applying the counter-campaign with an active defense and People's War, annihilated over 100 soldiers of the genocidal Armed Forces in ambushes and other military actions. In Huallaga in the same period, in other ambushes, 58 elements of the Armed Forces and police were annihilated; beyond this there was the crushing of counter-revolutionaries, infiltrators, and traitors. Afterwards, there were more ambushes, assaults, and harassments, highlighted by the ambush of Previsto. In all these actions, around a hundred of the enemies forces were annihilated. In Cangallo-Fajardo the People's War continued, developing the seizure of towns, the annihilation of informers, razings, annihilation of rustlers that acted against the people and as enemy agents, highlighted by the ambush of Chumbilla, where a military convoy was attacked inflicting seven casualties. In the North there were seizures of towns, razings, annihilation of police officers and authorities, as well as the assault on the police post of Aglomarca in Cajabamba, completely demolishing it. In the mid-North the armed actions continue incessantly, with incursions and seizures of towns that had fallen back into reactionary hands. In the capital, there was the September offensive, with sabotage and car bombings, sabotage of the electrical grid, annihilation of police officers, SIN agents, and their lackeys of the Peace Accords, widespread agitation and propaganda, harassment of police posts, car bombings of two Air Force bases, the car bombing of Luza [the "doctor" in charge of torturing President Gonzalo -- Trans.] and D'Onofrio (for exploiting their workers), the ambush and capture of Fales in Comas (November), the sabotage of banks and financial institutions, arson of the commercial chains of the big bourgeoisie, among other actions. The People's War has continued developing persistently in the south of the country, to which can be added the heroic resistance of the prisoners of war, that fight the enemy under very difficult conditions, persisting in combating, mobilizing, and producing, converting the gloomy dungeons of the reactionaries into Shining Trenches of Combat, no matter what the treacherous, wretched, loyal servants of Yankee imperialism that spread the "Peace Accords" may say.

We must continue combating the revisionist and capitulationist Right Opportunist Line (ROL), because if we don't combat it we cannot build apparatuses superior to those of the enemy, we cannot conquer power throughout the country. The main thing is to reaffirm ourselves on the Basis of Party Unity and Build the Conquest of Power, and this demands crushing offensives against the revisionist and capitulationist ROL, sweeping it away, and purging the Party so that it is strengthened, so that its fortress-like nature is expressed even more as the creation of President Gonzalo. Like a fine sword of the purest steel, we are bastions of that fortress, we have been, we are, and should be even more so; it is a necessity, the class and people demand it of us. Therefore we must develop: PREPARE THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE THROUGH THE CONQUEST OF POWER, as befits our hill in the Strategic Equilibrium.

We are currently applying the IV Strategic Plan of War and this is to conquer power throughout the country. We must apply it more, with Communist firmness and resolution, as it guides us, gives us a path, and permits us to face the most sinister enemy offensives. Within this the war and de-

struction are developed in an all-embracing way by our Party. To persist in this is to strengthen the People's War, making more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought people's war that follows the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside and whose nerve centers are the Base Areas. Take this, that the Base Areas must materialize the relative stability of the New State on its march towards the People's Republic of Peru, and this is done by way of the VI Military Plan, with the plans of victory established by our President Gonzalo, heroically followed by our Central Committee and the entire system of leadership. This is done by defeating and crushing the enemy's campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation", managing the four forms of struggle and above all guerrilla warfare, because without annihilating enemy forces we cannot preserve nor develop our forces, and we cannot beat their bloody offensives.

We are plainly prepared to cross the river of blood inflicted by the genocidal army, the trench of blood and victory that the Conquest of Power countrywide demands of us; life will be affirmed on top of a pile of corpses. We will face difficulties and tumultuous times, but we are a new force with brilliant prospects, and we raise higher than ever the slogans: "Learn from President Gonzalo!" and "Embody Gonzalo Thought!". We will apply Gonzalo Thought and darkness will be made clear, the possible will be done and the difficult will become easy. We must recall what Chairman Mao taught us: "The war will be won by whoever resists one minute more..." and we know how to resist, we will win because we know what we want, and what we want is power. For that reason we are centered around combat: "Our center is to combat, our daily life is war"; let us center ourselves on the People's War. This is how things are, the problem is and shall continue to be "fight or die, win the bloody struggle or nothing."

PEOPLE'S WAR UNTIL WE REACH COMMUNISM!

Economic and Political Situation

In the PCP document "The Party, The People's War and the Boycott" the following is stated: "Against the constitutional illusions and for the state of New Democracy!" In pg. 56 it says as follows: "What economic path has been followed by the government in 10 years? In general lines, in 1969 and 1970 they prepared the conditions for their plans; then applied the 1971-75 socio-economic plan aiming at the accumulation of capital; stopped in its last year of execution because difficulties were starting; the 1975-78 plan was approved aiming at a greater accumulation of capital, a plan which in its first two years attempted to prevent the crisis but failed. In 1977 The Tupac Amaru plan was approved applying the reformulation proposed by the President in March 1976, a plan which extended until 1980, the date when the crisis was expected to be over. During this whole period the state played the principal role, it was the main engine for the economic process, developing state monopolism. But, already in the last years, the increasing necessity to impulse the non-governmental [private] economic activity becomes established; that is, because of the imperialist order under which our country exists, when the State assumes economic functions it does so precisely with the aim of preparing conditions for future developments of monopolistic production. This is characteristic of both imperialism and the big bourgeoisie allied with it."

"What is being established in the country's economic process? In concrete, that private monopoly becomes the main engine for the economy, placing at its disposal the appropriation of the great means of production concentrated by the state during the last decade, this stems from the greater concentration of property that results from the crisis; there is also the establishment of new norms for increasing the exploitation of labor power, to restrict or cancel the benefits, rights and other gains conquered by the masses; as it is usual in every economic crisis, such are measures for preventing it and overcoming it.

This is the economic period in which we unfold, the period which for imperialism, the exploiting classes and their governments means in concrete two things, in the immediate term:

1) The financial problem, currently centered on the foreign debt will involve most measures already taken as well as those to be taken inmediately;

2) The economic problem, in relation to the productive process, which demands an economic plan, already announced and closely linked to both the electoral process in progress and the 'social pact for national salvation' being prepared; of the two, the second is the principal one, since the first is already mostly defined, while the second is more complex and has greater perspective". Twelve years later we are in the same problem; it says: "the center must be shifted to the private activity, to private [non-government] monopoly"; that is the problem. The document emphasizes that the State, when it assumes economic functions, prepares conditions for future development of big bourgeois and imperialist monopolist production, an issue which is still pending; and it emphasizes that the old State has two tasks: the financial aspect centered on the foreign debt (which today continues being a problem) and the economic plan which is the principal thing (today it continues to be so). Did they solve the debt problem? No. It is the bureaucratic path; it is the Peruvian society that is sinking to lower levels each time. On page 60, speaking of politics, it says: "Then, this political period lasting 4 or 5 years, is characterized by the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the XX Century, and by the development of the masses'

struggle towards the initiation of the armed struggle. This period occurs in the second moment of the country's contemporary history, that is since the Second World War (WWII) to the present; a moment in which bureaucratic capitalism deepens and corporate development under the burgeoisie develops; moments in which the conditions for the democratic revolution also become ripe, and this is defined by the force of arms to create a state of New Democracy.

However, what is the inmediate situation of the political period that we live in? Two questions emerged for imperialism, for the exploiting classes and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie leading the process: To carry out the elections for the Constituting Assembly, and open the road to the third restructuring of the Peruvian State; of these two the second one is principal since it is the most complex and of greater significance, and from this the bureaucatic faction expects to establish itself as the leading faction, and also because the first one is going through its final part with the support of most political parties which view the Constituting Assembly as their survival and future perspective. The people, the exploited and the proletariat, face the challenge not to be stuck in the electoral process, since such is the door to the restructuring of the state, and instead develop the growing people's unrest and protests, and mobilize, politicize and organize the masses, especially the peasantry, this second aspect is the principal one! Well, here it is the same; has the situation changed? It is the same once again. The document mentions that events unfolded within the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the XX Century; but what does the Party Congress tell us? What does the Party tell us? That the old State needs a new restructuring, will it be the fourth one? This means that they still are within what the Party highlights: "The Constitution of 1979 has not resolved a thing, it has satisfied neither Greeks nor Trojans". But now, what are they doing? They do not modify the Constitution, they simply step on it every day because it is a filthy banner, and its laws are destroyed, ripped apart by the reactionaries themselves, that is the situation. Then, the problem continues the same. Yesterday it was the problem of the general elections; and today, what is the situation with their so called election? It continues to be a problem, but now greatly enlarged by the development of the People's War, because these processes are similar and serve to renew the reactionary "authority". How did they do in their last complementary municipal elections? A failure, that is why they did not cackle. How will the next municipal elections be? Will there be one? What will they think, what will they want? They still need these. Nevertheless, as in 1978, the restructuring continues to be the fundamental problem; it is the same as yesterday, although today it is in worse conditions, because its existence is questioned and a New State rises up in defiance to confront it and, obviously, the situation becomes more urgent; especially the growing confrontation of powers, greater power for the armed forces, and the disarticulation and fragmentation of the Peruvian State; besides it is clear there is a violent sharpening of the class struggle, becoming more acute because of the system's general crisis and the intense recession, causing more hunger, unemployment and misery, and the principal thing, the development of the People's War through the strategic equilibrium, that is the problem. How do they restructure their State? This is what they are defining; are there advances? The situation is not simple, and it unfolds in the midst of acute contradictions deep in the ranks of the big bourgeoisie. Let us highlight this, in the document: "On the other side, the conditions for the democratic revolution mature and enter to define themselves through the force of arms to create a State of New Democracy". It says "enter", we started in 1980, it is 11 years now and going to 12; and our war is a powerful People's War, and up to today the enemy has failed to find a way to confront it, besides we already are in the second stage, the strategic equilibrium, a transcendental conquest demanding that we thoroughly analyze the national and international political contexts in which it unfolds.

The transcribed document is a good text to understand how they cannot solve their problems, and that today these problems become more dangerous for them; is their situation at present easier or more difficult? Obviously today they are confronting a more difficult moment, sinking to deeper levels in economic and political terms, mainly confronting a growing People's War.

[From the PCP's Central Committee document: "Let the Strategic Equilibrium Rock the Country"]

Revolutionary Advances Grounded on Solid Foundations

In Peru the ruling classes are entering a period of disruption. As such, it is a appropriate to apply a strategy of bold advances, but always laying down solid foundations.

Far from solving their problems, they face problems that grow more difficult and complex which they will be unable to resolve. The difficulties and contradictions of the reactionaries are accentuated within the framework marked by the People's War that evolves within the Strategic Equilibrium, reaching a point where the political process of the nation is being defined by the Communist Party of Peru.

While things improve day by day within the revolutionary camp in preparation for the strategic counteroffensive by way of Building the Conquest of Power, within the counter-revolutionary camp things go from bad to worse. There is no political consensus among the reactionaries; on the contrary, we

see a growing reactionarization of the State, an increase in the presidential absolutism embodied by Fujimori, in his role as puppet dangling from the bayonet points of the Army (proven once again with the Law of Immunity approved last June 13th). Furthermore, the disruption of the reactionaries is expressed daily within the heart of their own armed forces. There are eight or nine groups in the Armed Forces that contend for power. For now, it is under the hegemony of the group of Gen. Nicolás de Bari Hermoza who control the old Peruvian state, under the baton of Yankee imperialism that directs the counterinsurgency war in Peru.

The Contention Between the World Revolution and World Counter-revolution Intensifies

On one side, the historical and political tendency in today's world is revolution. The world proletarian revolution has been on the offensive since 1980, and we eventually enter into the New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.

The proletariat and the people of the world are paying close attention to the confrontation of the two strategies in contention: the People's War versus the counterinsurgency along the guidelines of "low-intensity warfare". The most open Yankee intervention in Peru will rapidly change the process of polarization underway, in which the principal contradiction of masses-feudalism, into nation-imperialism.

Who will win? How long will this last? Let us look at history and the tendency of events to clarify these questions.

On the other side, the world counter-revolution is (strategically) on the defensive. Imperialism is in a general crisis and marches inexorably towards its collapse, and revisionism has entered into total and complete bankruptcy. The same contenders in the previous world wars are preparing the third one. All of them have serious and complicated problems, seeking a new redivision of the world through a trade war. The world counter-revolution led by the U.S. is unleashing a general counter-revolutionary offensive that is already in decline. The U. S., the only hegemonic power and major gendarme, in reality is a giant with feet of clay with growing problems. President Gonzalo in a paragraph of the central report of the III Plenum explained the difference between the strategic offensive of the world revolution and of the general counter-revolutionary offensive:

"They are on the defensive, but they wish to make it appear as if things are different. We must not believe them. We can understand this issue if we analyze it from a class position. Clearly, there is a general counter-revolutionary offensive that will last many years. But while the stage of the strategic offensive will last decades, the general counter-revolutionary offensive will last few years."

On the role of the People's War in Peru:

"We must understand the strategic offensive on all levels. Consider, comrades, the implications of the triumph of the People's War here, the surging of the People's Republic of Peru which is nearer than ever, to achieve everything which millions have struggled for over centuries of combat; we are nothing more than the most recent part of this, the material part, the frontal part, which has made a breech like the head of a river. We have the force of history behind us."

Synthesizing:

"In synthesis, on an international level the struggle will intensify, it will develop. Because we are a torch, base, and trench of combat, they will never forgive us, and we do not ask for their forgiveness, nor for their permission. As such, we must link the intensification of the class struggle to the People's War, to the Conquest of Power Nationwide, which is specified as a two-line struggle within the Party, that expresses itself as a People's War against the counter-revolutionary war in the country, and revolution and counter-revolution in the world. That is our perspective and the situation in which we are evolving. Who among us will slacken in the pledge that the Party has taken?"

Yankee Intervention, Polarization, and the Change in Contradiction

We must be clear that in accordance with the advance of the People's War for Liberation, it is a fact that the current U.S. intervention in the command of the counterinsurgency war and the application of their "low-intensity warfare" strategy will necessarily evolve into a "conventional" direct invasion, either alone or using third parties. This will imply a change in contradiction. Thus the agrarian war, the civil war today, will be transformed into a war of national liberation, which will create a wider margin to unite the Peruvian people and will generate worldwide repudiation by the peoples of the world and greater support and solidarity with the People's War, primarily in the Third World, among the proletariat, and the North American population, especially among Black and Latin-American people.

President Gonzalo tells us in the Third Plenum:

"**The contradictions have to be seen from another point of view, because in Peru there is a growing polarization.** This polarization implies that on one side, we have imperialism and Peruvian reaction, that is bureaucratic capitalism, the landlords, and all other reactionaries. On the other side, are the people led by the Party as the representative of the proletariat. It is a question of class struggle when the classes are gravitating around a pole, with all the reactionary and pro-imperialist classes headed by the bourgeoisie around one pole and all the classes that make up the people headed by the proletariat at the other pole. That is the problem".

The world must know that the Peruvian people under the leadership of the PCP, the creation of President

Gonzalo, has decided to stand up and marches victoriously towards the initiation of the strategic counteroffensive, building the Conquest of Power, for the installation of the People's Republic of Peru, the future base area and trench of combat of the world proletarian revolution.

We salute from here the ever closer installation of the People's Republic of Peru.

Peru People's Movement, August 1995.

The Revolution is Breaking Through all Sieges

The uncontainable advance of the People's War for Liberation was demonstrated with the brilliant development of the current application of the VI and penultimate Military Plan of the Communist Party of Peru.

This advance was noted in both quantity and quality of actions. The People's War successfully applied the boycott tactic in the general elections last April, confirming that the Party has the initiative and that it is defining the process the nation is living through. The People's War of liberation is a growing and expanding war.

The reactionaries are now talking about the "recomposition" of "Shining Path", which in their language is a way of beginning to recognize their failure, and as such is a form of recognizing the inevitable triumph of the Party in the second stage of the war, the stage of the Strategic Equilibrium. Let us examine some commentaries. Senderologist Carlos Tapia says: "It is a new methodology, before they used to do [the actions] in places no one thought they would... We are dealing with a combination of actions by urban guerrilla groups and terrorist actions." Where does this leave, we ask this wretch, the supposed extinction of "Shining Path"?

For his part, journalist Mirko Lauer notes: "Few would have thought that in July 1995, within days of the change in government, Shining Path would be one of the principal political news items. But the fact is that lately many organisms of SL appear in the media occupying almost all their old spaces". Why don't they mock the wound to Fujimori who promised to finish off *Sendero* before July 1995?

Desco prudently "reports": "successive terrorist actions have given cause to debate the hypothetical recomposition of Shining Path".

Evidently for them, it is embarrassing to explain this "resurrection" from a false burial, and now that actions are rising over them, they have to eat their words and begin to recognize like Mirko Lauer did in another paragraph: "SL is more present and alive than we thought."

The inevitable triumph of the People's War is not determinism, but rather the completion of laws of development. It will simply lead to the death of an incurably ill patient, bureaucratic capitalism, which has no "viability" in the country; even if they bring in $20 billion into the country, it will only generate more rot and corruption. It is the result of the obsolescence of a state that kills its new constitution before it is born. The same is true with the promulgation of its Law of Immunity for the murderers of the "Barrios Altos" case as well as the "Cantuta" case. What do they show? The complete decrepitude of their system.

In the revolutionary camp the axis of everything is the Party, and the Party is a fortress against all kinds of storms. Like the fortress it is, it can only be taken from within. The enemy knows this, and that is why it was trying to use revisionist agents, capitulationists and the right opportunist line (ROL), who were purged from the Party. After sweeping away the rest of the manure, the Party is consolidating ideologically, politically, and organizationally. For this reason, the Central Committee instructions: "Building the conquest of power demands the sweeping away of the right opportunist, revisionist, capitulationist line and the purging of the Party" is just and correct.

Today, the handfull of capitulating revisionists are fools who have been repudiated everywhere as traitors: the people hate them and their emperor holds them in contempt. They have lost their tongues from licking the entrails of the reptile Fujimori so much. Their betrayal has lost its value, they have lost all charms before the eyes of the reptile, their reports are old like the charms Uncle Sam, and now that they have lost their dignity, not only of their bodies but of their souls, they are like a rat that crosses a Sunday park while everyone runs after it to kill it.

In Peru, what is defining everything is the People's War which approaches more and more the day of the insurrections. The people celebrate the actions of the People's Liberation Army. Actions are occurring in the Andes, the coastal plains, the jungles, the villages, and the big cities, and even in the capital. The People's Army is developing and strengthening in its three forces: principal, local, and base forces which includes the people's militia, taking a great step forward towards the sea of armed masses.

The Peruvian people have decided to stand up, and there is no force capable of stopping them. The people's joy grows in step with their actions and their incorporation into the People's War. The Peruvian people believe in the Communist Party because it defends their interests. They have seen how their best sons and daughters give everything to the benefit of the proletariat and the people.

The People's War has crushed every hoax presented by reaction, which have always been linked to elections.

Let us look at the actions against the casino Maria Angola and Fujimori's congressman Joy Way in the cities, or the seizure of towns such as at Nuevo Progreso in Tocache province in San Martín. Those actions confirm the development and strengthening of the People's Army. The reactionaries can-

not hide the fact that the attack on Nuevo Progreso came from three fronts and required a high degree of preparation and efficiency to carry out such sophisticated operations.

The actions are heard loud and clear across borders and oceans. News came from Uchiza reporting that the People's Army has carried out a military sweeping operation throughout the zone. It was so successful that Fujimori's genocidal troops haven't been able to run away fast enough, and have virtually evaporated.

The passage to the third and last stage of the war depends on tactical questions, and this depends on how much better we handle the laws of war in general, of revolutionary war, and the People's War in Peru in particular. This demands a greater application of Gonzalo Thought in resolving new problems generated by the war, for example campaigns that don't develop in a clear and fully evolved way. Until now, the reactionary military operations have had one constant: they always ended up running away like rabbits; nevertheless, they continue planning future campaigns of encirclement and annihilation that are bigger, bloodier, and more sophisticated, with an ever growing presence by Yankee imperialism.

How is the VI plan of "Building the Conquest of Power" going? Smooth as a breeze! The Party is growing and consolidating itself. The People's Army is developing and strengthening itself; the New Power expanding and achieving a relative stability. We are advancing in the united front for the Conquest of Power. The forms of struggle of the People's War are: guerrilla warfare, selective annihilation, sabotage, and armed agitation and propaganda. There is a notable leap in ambushes, assaults, and demolitions. More than ever frequent towns and small cities are being taken over, which even reach close to the capital, and the armed strikes are handled better. We see a greater strengthening of the People's War in the countryside, which allows a greater strengthening of the war in the city. The actions demonstrate a qualitative advance in mobile warfare and in the preparations for the insurrection.

The Farcical Economic Miracle of Fujimori

The CIA and its funded NGOs knowingly published false reports that the dictator Alberto Fujimori "has revolutionized the Peruvian economy, tamed rampant inflation with the world's highest growth rate in 1994 and defeated the insurgency." None of these are true.

We just have to scratch the surface of "bonanza" of this old and decrepit state to find out that the claim of an "economic boom" is nothing more than a propaganda campaign to increase tourism and lure multinationals to ransack the Peruvian economy even more. The safety valve of the national income comes from the drug business and the privatized industries. On the other hand, most of the expenses are for counterinsurgency activities and the payment of the foreign debt. Because the expenses for social costs are minimal, during the Fujimori government the earnings of an additional 5 million people fell below the extreme poverty level. What economic miracle can this cruel dictatorship claim when more than half of Peru's school-age children are chronically malnourished? [Reuters, October 17, 1995] Malnutrition is worse in rural areas (Ayacucho, Apurimac, Huancavelica, etc.) where generally there is no potable water, electricity nor sewage system. Not to mention the border areas with Ecuador, Brazil and Bolivia. For example, in the jungle province of Atalaya in Madre de Dios (Border with Brazil) 87% of children have chronic malnutrition. "The problem of our country is hidden hunger, which has been there for many years and continues to increase at really worrying levels," Benavente said. (Source quoted by Reuters: M. Benavente, College of Nutritionists of Lima) More than 75% of Peru's 23 million people live in poverty and more than 85% of the workforce is either unemployed or underemployed, according to official figures. Is this an economic miracle? Maybe. But only for the pockets of a handful of thieves and narcogenerals that control the government with the support of the U.S.

Widespread "State of Emergency" Proves Beyond Any Doubt the Victorious Advance of the People's War.

The dictatorship has suspended its own constitution in most populated areas of Peru. The reasons given by the government are the political and military actions in these areas by the Maoist People's Army led by the Communist party of Peru (PCP) and their supporters. In some areas, the state of emergency was lifted "legally", but the military maintain the political authority at its discretion. This is case of the departments (geographical jurisdiction similar to States) of Ancash, Piura and Puno. Although the government acknowledges only 44.2% of Peru's total population (23 million) is living without constitutional rights, according to some independent observers, it is as many as 65%.

1. Department of Cusco. The provinces (similar to counties) of Chumbivilcas, Canas, Canchis, La Convention (districts of Quimbiri and Pichari), Paruro, and Acomayo are under military occupation. In the last two provinces, the military curfew was lifted temporarily.

2. Department of Ucayali. The state of emergency covers the provinces of Coronel Portillo and Padre Abad.

3. Department of Loreto. The provinces

of Alto Amazonas, San Martin, and the district of Yurimaguas.

4. Department of Huanuco. The provinces of Puerto Inca, Lauricocha, Yarowilca, Dos de Mayo, Maranon, Ambo, Huamalies, Pachitea, and the district of Huacrachuco.

5. Department of Lima. The provinces of Lima, Barranca, and Huarochiri and Callao. Temporarily lifted despite heavy PCP presence: Cajatambo, Canta, Canete, Huaral, Huaura, and Yauyos.

6. Department of Pasco. The province of Oxapampa. Temporarily lifted a few times but reinstated due to heavy PCP presence: Daniel Alcides Carrion and Pasco.

7. Department of Junin. The provinces of Huancayo, Satipo and Chanchamayo. Temporarily lifted and reinstated due to strong PCP presence: Concepcion and Jauja.

8. Department of Huancavelica. The provinces de Castrovirreyna, Huaytara and Huancavelica.

9. Department of Ayacucho. The provinces of Lucanas, Huamanga, Cangallo and La Mar.

10. Department of Apurimac. The provinces of Chincheros, Andahuaylas, Abancay, Grau and Aymaraes.

11. Department of San Martin. The provinces of Moyobamba, Bellavista, El Dorado, Huallaga, Lamas, Mariscal Caceres, Picota Rioja, San Martin, and Tocache.

STATE OF EMERGENCY IN PERU (Up to October 1995)

Department	Population	%(1)	Area (km²)	%(2)	Prov.
Apurimac	295,138	78.8	12,889.53	61.7	4
Ayacucho	325,611	66.8	23,784.33	54.3	4
Callao	638,234	100	146.98	100	1
Cusco (3)	228,528	22.5	13,126.81	18.2	4
Huancavelica	149,732	39.1	14,658.57	66.2	3
Huanuco	561,621	86.1	33,998.77	90.1	9(*)
Junin	642,597	62.6	28,866.47	65.0	3
Lima	5,963,761	92.0	9,678.47	27.8	3
Loreto	96,379	14.3	32,932.44	9.0	2
Pasco	62,581	27.1	18,673.79	73.8	1
San Martin	545,154	100	51,253.31	100	10
Ucayali	277,811	90.2	45,638.36	44.6	2
Total	9,787,147	44.2	285,647.83	22.2	46

(1) Percentage of total population in the Department who are under military rule (State of Emergency).

(2) Percentage of the Department's territory under State of Emergency.

(3) No census data is available for the population and area of the district of Pichari in the Department of Cusco, therefore, this data is not being included.

Source: Government's paper "El Peruano", October 21, 1995.

The "New World Order": Imperialist War in Ex-Yugoslavia

The most important contradictions in today's world are mainly between the oppressed nations and peoples against imperialism, and in a lesser degree the inter-imperialist struggles. The peoples and nations of the world are involved in belligerent conflicts, many of them disguised as regional or nationalist conflicts, even racial and religious ones.

All of these contradictions are the expression of the rebellion of the masses which are being exacerbated by the Yankee's sole domination after the fall of Soviet social-imperialism.

Nowadays, THE PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION: The most raging and growing proof of this truth is the People's War in Peru, which is growing victoriously and with a clear perspective of conquering power nationwide. Blazing

in the world is also the light of Gonzalo Thought, making a reality of its expansion to neighboring countries such as Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia.

The Extermination of the People in Ex-Yugoslavia

Just like in the year 1914, the interests of the imperialist powers mobilizes pawns and shock groups to impose their domination. The conflicts between Serbs, Croats and Moslems in Bosnia are a formal expression of the class struggle. It goes beyond the issue of secessionism and nationalism to which they have succumbed as a result of the decomposition of revisionist Yugoslavia. Imperialism is driving them into a war that in reality does not concern any clear national interest on the part of any of them. The outcome of the conflict in the Balkan Peninsula will define which imperialism will dominate and exploit in these lands. The bloody meddling by the Yankees, Russians, NATO, the Japanese, European Economic Community and the Vatican is not "humanitarian" at all.

Imperialist Butchery under the Wing of the UN

The inoperability of the UN as a peace keeping organization is evident, its character as a tool of US imperialism is crystal clear. The UN general secretary is a simple puppet, the UN has demonstrated once more its lack of effort to fulfilling any resolution of its hypocritical "cease fire", "security zones" or "peacekeeping troops." It has made possible not only "ethnic cleansing" but a flagrant imperialist aggression in Bosnia with more than 4,000 aerial bombardments in 14 days and the brutal launching of 13 Tomahawk missiles, of almost one thousand kilos each, mainly on the civilian population that eventually will lead to an outright military invasion. The mainstream press reports that this cowardly and massive bombing against a small and poorly armed people is the action of the "international community" against the Serbs. What hypocrisy! The peoples of the world, including the people of the United States and Europe (the working class and the oppressed), repudiate this criminal, imperialist aggression led by the Yankee Pentagon.

The imperialist powers realign their alliances because of the new international situation. They battle among themselves for markets. Imperialists, mainly US imperialism, seek to expand their profits by leeching the wealth of Third World countries and trying to balance their huge national debts by cutting social benefits to the working class and oppressed peoples. Japan is in the midst of a severe recession. France is trying to show the world its status as a nuclear power by conducting nuclear tests in the Pacific to demonstrate its military capacity to the others powers seeking the leadership of the Rapid Intervention Force, reaffirming its role of aggressor along with England. All of them act in collusion and contention with the US that has its own interests in the Balkan countries. Meanwhile, Russia plays the role of fireman (very similar to its previous role in Iraq). The Russians are centered on "negotiating" the war to get part of the booty. It goads on its lackeys in Belgrade, while the people continue their anti-imperialist resistance and if they persist, inspired by the great example of the Vietnamese people on how to fight imperialism, they will defeat the giants with feet of clay.

On the ideological level, the bourgeois ideal of "freedom, equality, fraternity", combined with "morality and solidarity", is spread throughout the bourgeois dictatorships (along with neofascist trends) of Spain, France, Italy, Poland, Russia, England, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, etc. All of them are in a great economic crisis, plagued by unemployment and political corruption. The blows that they inflict in order to get out of the stagnant recession-depression ends with "I want to but I cannot" and thus they are sunk.

It is not surprising that these powers enter into friction to hoard markets and resources. For example, the violent conflicts between Canadian and Spanish fishermen, between the Spanish and French, between French agricultural producers and Italian, etc. This reflects that the so-called "European community", led in contention by Germany, France and England, is a paper community. The only thing that unites them are the struggles with their imperialist rivals: USA, Russia, Japan, and China to re-divide the world.

Among the European youth there is a temporary surge of pacifism and ecologism and other petty-bourgeois trends on one hand, and neofascist trends on the other. Meanwhile, the phony communist parties (revisionists) have changed names, or reflect their co-optation to the exploitative capitalist system following the failed Peruvian experience of submerging themselves into electoral fronts as "United Left." The clear example is Spain; they are lost without a course after the collapse of the revisionist system in the USSR.

Within this general European context, Maoism, following the leadership of the PCP along the road of the People's War, continues advancing; a good example is the growing support that the Peruvian democratic revolution receives in Europe, as well as the emerging of more PCP generated organizations, such as the formation of the Peru People's Movements (MPP-Europe), Maoist parties and support groups that continue the struggle against imperialism and the remnants of revisionism that try to sow capitulation and accommodation under the imperialistic wing.

The similarity of the current international situation with the world situation of 1914 is interesting and valid to the extent that two things are fulfilled: First, the sharpening of the imperialist contradictions only accelerates the advance and development of the revolutionary struggle of the people; and second, the same revolutionary upheaval, as in those years, is happening today.

There is a Marxist revolution at the brink of winning in Peru, just as occurred in Russia of 1917, and it will inaugurate a new historical chapter of all humanity: The final victory of socialism.

Peru People's Movement (MPP).

September 1995.

Women in the Revolutionary Struggle of Peru

Honor and Glory to Comrade Norah!

"Feminism in its purest form is essentially revolutionary. The thought and attitude of women who feel feminist and conservative at the same time lack coherency." J.C. Mariátegui, founder of the PCP, 1924.

Based on the position of the PCP's founder, José Carlos Mariátegui, that class differentiates human beings more than sex does, President Gonzalo forges the ideology of the proletariat in the revolutionary Peruvian woman, thus opening a true path for the emancipation of women, which can only be achieved with liberation of the class, fighting for power as part of it. Society is not divided into women and men, but rather into classes, within which there are proletarian women, exemplary revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao tells us that women are half the world and hold up half the sky, expounding on the need to incorporate women into the revolution. In this sense, Chairman Mao explains the true role that the revolutionary woman should play: "A woman is not a flower cradled in the greenhouse of the bourgeoisie, but is a rose that blossoms in the revolutionary tempest of the proletariat."

In our country, President Gonzalo teaches that "with the initiation of the armed struggle, the true emancipation of women under the leadership of the proletariat has begun." Applying Maoism and People's War, Peruvian women have written unerasable pages in the struggle of the proletariat for the conquest of power.

With the fall of the "democratic" facade in Peru with the military coup of 1992, that pacifism born of opportunism and revisionism is disappearing. In its place a powerful insurrectionary movement is surging, that clearly distinguishes between the reactionary violence of the old state headed by the genocidal traitor Fujimori and the revolutionary violence led by the PCP.

In the beginning of the People's War, in order to neutralize its development and deprive it of popular support, the Peruvian bourgeoisie tried to generate a "center between two violences", proposing "a pacifist confrontation" (as they have done for five centuries) as the only morally acceptable response against the violence of the reactionary state. This position has no weight anymore in Peru. Cultural history influences the forms that violence takes in a society. In Peru, according to J.M. Arguedas, [Peru's greatest writer on Andean culture--Trans.] the peasants fear the vengeance of the dead, by which they may occasionally mutilate the corpses of those who have been executed to avoid being persecuted by the souls of the powerful, but they will never have remorse for having executed their oppressors. The idea that "woman gives life", and therefore should not participate in the revolution, is an idea deliberately planted by the non-governmental organizations and the U.S. government that promotes mercantilism and social welfarism by way of huge investments in reactionary "feminist" projects. Weren't the liberation theology group along with the Russian appendage PCP-Unidad allied with the fascist Velasco regime, who have fomented state capitalism? They have isolated themselves from the revolutionary feminist movement in Peru.

Many people fear and respect the PCP, partly because they recognize a moral superiority in these revolutionaries. Beyond the moral position that one might have in the global scheme of things, few can doubt that in our country "a settling of accounts" has been needed for a long time. This is becoming a reality with the

People's War, but it needs to cover more ground. As President Gonzalo has said: "This is only a bend in the road. Some dream that it is a great defeat. Let them dream. The road is long and we will reach the end. We will triumph, you will see it."

HONOR AND GLORY TO COMRADE NORAH!

Comrade Norah is a brilliant example of a revolutionary combatant, the greatest heroine of the Party and the revolution. She lived a short but skillful life like an arrow flying towards the target of Communism. At the beginning of the 1960s when she was very young, she joined the ranks of the PCP as a militant. She formed part of the red fraction led by President Gonzalo to reconstitute the Party in a bitter struggle against opposed lines, defeating them by applying principles in their purest form. A paradigm of the anti-revisionist combatant, she always defended the proletarian line and unceasingly fought revisionism and opportunism within the ranks of the PCP, unmasking and crushing it. She integrated herself into peasant organizing work with dedication, actively supporting the land invasions in Ayacucho, strengthening the peasant organization in Huamanga, along with the women's, youth, and intellectual organizations.

She fostered the women's conventions of peasants, workers, and students, helping to organize the Popular Feminist Movement, and played a key role in the struggle of June 1969 for free education led by President Gonzalo. In the heart of the Party, she firmly upheld the proletarian line, combating against the liquidationism of the Right with dedication, maintaining the red flags of Maoism.

In the 1970s, in the uproar of the class struggle, she fought against the fascist regime, developed the Party's work among the masses, principally among working and peasant women, impelled their struggle and organization. She developed the peasant work in Andahuaylas which paved the way for the initiation of the People's War, at the same time struggling tenaciously against the Left liquidationism defeated in 1975, against the Right opportunist line which arose in the peasant work in 1976. She assumed a role in the VIII Plenum of 1978 as part of the third fraction of the Central Committee led by President Gonzalo, defending the Party against the rightist positions, and in 1979 in the IX Plenum she fought on the front lines against the Right opportunist line opposed to the initiation of the People's War, totally and completely defeating it.

With the culmination of its reconstitution, the PCP, a Party of a New Type, capable of taking the heavens by storm, defined itself and decided upon the Initiation of the Armed Struggle (ILA), opening the times of war in our country. Comrade Norah, as a member of the Central Committee that initiated the People's War, a member of the Order of Initiators, a combatant of the First Company of the Red Army formed by President Gonzalo, marched in front of all the battles with her fist held high of the biggest social revolutionary movement in Peruvian history, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo thought People's War, in which she was a great political and military leader.

She had unbreakable faith and a heart which cherished an infinite love for our people and the class, giving herself with absolute unselfishness to struggle fervently for our emancipation; a complete Communist, a Communist before anything else, she understood that the emancipation of women is part of the emancipation of the proletariat and the people. Thus, she fought resolutely to destroy the three mountains which weigh down on our people. As a combatant in the People's War, she gave her life and precious blood to build the new, the New Power, at the service of the world proletarian revolution and Communism.

Comrade Norah is the highest expression of the thousands of women who are heroines of our people, who have given their lives in the process of the People's War. The qualities that characterize the Peruvian combatants have been acknowledged even by their most cutting enemies. One notable right-wing journalist from *Diario Expresso* wrote about Janet Talavera, arrested for editing *El Diario* in Lima, and later assassinated in prison by the genocidal Fujimori government in May 1992: "... I was haunted by the dark face of this intense, brilliant and brave young woman... what had happened in her life, I asked myself, to reach such an untimely death?" The women of the world see the roles of Peruvian women in leadership and as protagonists of the revolution as an inspiration and example. Women like Edith Lagos, Carla Tutti, Yovanka Pardave, Elvia Zanabria and thousands of other women have given their precious lives to the revolution, and thousands of women are fighting in the ranks of the People's Liberation Army and the PCP. Hundreds of them are found in their condition as political prisoners and prisoners of war in the shining trenches of combat (the concentration camps of Santa Monica, Cachiche, Yanamayo among others), tortured and brutally killed by government officials, systematically raped, slandered and denigrated by the reactionary press so as to misinform the people of the world of the just and deserved respect and admiration they rightfully deserve at an international level.

Women have been and continue to be the vertebral column of the Peruvian revolution. The PCP, more than any other political organization of our times, has empowered women to overcome their conditions of subordination. Within the organizations created by the Party, women command respect for their intelligence

and ideological preparation. No great theories are needed to explain the dedication of Peruvian women who have chosen the path of revolution. For example, with simple and clear ideas the peasant women have a solid political formation. Abuses like rape or domestic violence have been effectively eliminated in the liberated zones or People's Committees. At all levels of the political and military organizations, women have assumed positions of authority and responsibility. Unlike bourgeois women, they have no need to call attention to themselves as "leaders" by means of demagogy, the Church, or foreign foundations (NGOs). They won leadership roles simply because they know what they want and feel committed to the cause of the people to resolve the problems they face once and for all. This can only be done with the People's War and the creation of the People's Republic of Peru on the path of socialism.

As the highest expression of the new type of woman, Comrade Norah raised high Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, teaching us how to embody Gonzalo Thought to serve and strengthen the Party, the class and the Revolution. A defiant banner deployed in the wind, her example remains alive, calling us today to carry forward the victory of the People's War, until the conquest of power nationwide.

The combatant women in the ranks of the Peruvian revolution are a living example for the peoples of the world. Their blood and heroism beat in our hearts, and their footprints follow the path to Communism. Comrade Norah was a persistent Communist, she gave her whole shining life for the Peruvian Revolution, and the world proletarian revolution. Loyal among the loyal, clear and resolute, she understood more than anyone, the key, strategic character of Maoism and the need to always defend it.

Peru People's Movement,

November 1995

Interview with the Editor of El Diario Internacional

The journalist Jaime Padilla of the newspaper *Liberacion* and the magazine *Resumen* interviewed Luis Arce Borja (LAB), editor of *El Diario Internacional*, which is edited in Brussels, Belgium. The presentation of this interview says: "carrying out the objective of giving the other side of the story, almost always censored in the official media, or by those who wish to 'protect their readers' by self-censorship. *Resumen* is reprinting the bulk of the interview with the editor of *El Diario International*."

1. Since the capture of Abimael Guzman, Fujimori has proclaimed that *senderismo* is destroyed. What do you say about that?

LAB. It is true that since the beginning of his government, Fujimori has offered the destruction of the Maoists, that is the liquidation of the PCP, to the North Americans and the Peruvian big bourgeoisie, along with ending the People's War. The problem of the revolution is the primary, principal, and fundamental problem of the old Peruvian state, which it must resolve. Effectively, Fujimori, since the capture of President Gonzalo in September 1992, offered a fixed date: before the end of his mandate in 1995, to start his new government without the guerrillas, without the problem of subversion.

2. And how do you judge the situation?

LAB. The concrete reality is that this is nothing more than propaganda spread by the communications media in the hands of the Peruvian state, whose echo overseas goes to the big European and North American press. The reality is that the guerrilla war continues being the principal problem of the Peruvian state. I will illustrate this with some facts: more that 60 percent of the population lives under a state of emergency, that is to say, a state of war. So, if there are no guerrillas, why does 60 percent of the population live under a brutal military dictatorship? Another example: I have news clips, to cite only March and April of this year, which show that in these months over 60 widespread guerrilla actions: attacks on barracks, the taking of towns, ambushes on Army patrols; and these are actions that are not happening only in one region, they occur in the capital as well as throughout the country. If it was the case that the Maoist guerrillas are under control or finished, how is it possible that they can develop big military and political actions, synchronized throughout the territory? Definitely, as they themselves recognize, "the People's War is healthy and full of life".

It is obvious that the capture of President Gonzalo would logically weaken the guerrillas in that moment, precisely because he is not just any leader of the PCP, he is the principal leader, he is the leader and ideologue of the revolution. Fujimori made all the publicity he could from the capture, but in fact we are now in mid 1995 and there are the responses.

3. According to Fujimori, after the capture of Guzman a dispute over leadership emerged and consequently there has been proclaimed in Peru and abroad a "split" within *senderismo*. How do the guerrillas manage in the face of this phenomenon?

LAB. In many articles in *El Diario Internacional*, we have clearly explained: there is no split within the PCP. The first thing that must be explained is that when President Gonzalo was captured in September 1992, the North American organizations as well as the Peruvian Armed Forces and Fujimori's government indicated that with the capture of President Gonzalo the end of the

People's War was in sight. The reality has been different. By the end of 1992, the guerrillas were as strong as when they were led by President Gonzalo. This shows that the Communist Party did not depend solely on one individual, but that it is a revolutionary party, prepared for this type of contingency, including the arrest of its top leaders.

Starting from this reality, the North Americans and the government manipulated the hoax of the "peace letters", written and signed, according them, by President Gonzalo, where he demanded a negotiation of the war, and determined that the revolution should end because there were no conditions for it to continue.

The reality is that no one knows with certainty what has happened with President Gonzalo. He has been in prison over three years and during this time there has not been one outsider who has been able to speak with him. Not even the representatives of the International Red Cross or Amnesty International, despite their repeated attempts, have been able to have any contact with him. The conclusions of the Central Committee of the PCP, which leads the revolution, consider that these "letters" are "counter-revolutionary hoaxes" with the sole end of creating divisions. They know perfectly well that the revolution cannot advance with a divided, weakened party, split into fragments. With the "peace letters" plot, they tried to present President Gonzalo as a ridiculous negotiator of the war, like a capitulator who crawls before his jailor, and in this way they dreamed that it would automatically destroy all the prestige generated in the world by the development of the revolution in Peru.

4. What is the proof that there is no split?

LAB. The proof is the growing People's War that advances unstoppable throughout the country. The letters were forged in the barracks of the Army Intelligence Service (SIE). The conservative Peruvian press indicated that the letters came from the SIE, under orders from Fujimori's advisor, Captain Vladimiro Montesinos, who is linked to the international narcotics trade and also tied to the paramilitary commandos. On the other hand, there are also some former sympathizers of the PCP who support the letters, individuals in prison who have no contact with the outside world. These are people who are negotiating their own skin; they have passed over to the service of the state, the Peruvian police, and to pursue personal interests such as their release or trips overseas.

5. With so much anti-*Sendero* propaganda by the governments, the Latin American community has perhaps not had any opportunity like this to come to know what rules *Sendero Luminoso* imposes to execute popular leaders. They may be confused by the propaganda and ask, how can a revolutionary movement that claims to be fighting for social justice clash against its own people?

LAB. Effectively, no revolutionary process can develop and consolidate itself if it goes against the people. In this matter I am in 100 percent agreement with you. But we must differentiate the propaganda around the Maoist guerrillas with fact. They are portrayed like a gang of crazy people, a sect of fanatics, narco-terrorists that kill the Peruvian population. What is hidden behind these schemes? The powerful ideology of the PCP is hidden, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. These slanders are part of the psychosocial low intensity war that has been developed in Peru against the guerrillas. This is done in such a way, with so much driving repetition of these lies about the PCP, that there are some people who actually think that all this is true. They are pure lies. With respect to this there is only one question: if the guerrillas are killing the Peruvian people, killing popular leaders, then why haven't they been defeated in 15 years?

It must be understood that this guerrilla movement is facing 500,000 men in the armed forces, the third largest in Latin America. Between the military and police forces there are 300,000 men, plus 200,000 paramilitaries in the peasant and urban *rondas*, civil defense groups, and other civilian groups that are organized by the Army. To this we must add the financing, technical, and material aid from the U.S., Germany, and France, among others. All of the national press is controlled by the government. With all this force, they cannot liquidate a guerrilla movement that kills its own people? There is no logical basis.

6. And the executions?

LAB. I will cite a well-known example: Maria Elena Moyano, "Mother Courage". The party executed her. They did not execute her because she distributed glasses of milk to people with the help of the Army, because that was one of her jobs. Neither did they execute her because she was a leader of the United Left (IU) or MAS; they executed her for complicity with the Army, organizing urban *rondas*, and drawing up lists to find and kill presumed "*senderistas*". This is known in Peru, that because of her, the Armed Forces repressed various settlements. In these cases the party is drastic and this will occur in circumstances where people become collaborators with the main enemy, the Armed Forces. Another example: Pedro Huillca, general secretary of the Labor Confederation of Peru. The party executed him, and what did the working class think about his execution? Did they build a shrine to Pedro Huillca? No! The workers didn't even go to the funeral of Pedro Huillca, because he was a "worker sell-out", a "strike breaker", an "ally of the Peruvian bourgeoisie". In these cases there are executions.

7. And the peasants?

LAB. We must think with a very simple idea. The strategic hamlets, a North American invention in Vietnam, are being employed in Peru, with their specific characteristics. The Army reaches a village and forces the peasants to form a *ronda*, or civil defense groups. Some of these peasants effectively lend themselves to the use of arms, while others are forcibly recruited under penalty of death. Then, when the guerrillas enter the village, they face a force that is effectively made up of peasants, many of them rich peasants, but who are working for the Army. Many of these peasants, backed up by the Army, commit atrocities in the sierra; they kill poor peasants, rape their wives, and sack other villages. The Party enters with the People's Army, confronts these peasant *rondas*, and some die, but they are not peasants serving the people. This is the part that is highlighted by the international and governmental propaganda when they publish: "*Sendero* killed 20 peasants". They also forget that they are paramilitaries, or under the command of the Army. The peasantry is the principal force in the revolution and form the largest part of the People's Army.

8. With such executions in Peru, it is said a "collective fear" has been generated, or that it is "psychological", and this phenomenon has also occurred in other countries. Did this have repercussions in the recent Peruvian elections, motivating the high electoral absenteeism?

LAB. I will talk a little about both themes. The execution of an individual who serves the Armed Forces or Peruvian police is not done in a hurry. The Party first explains their error to them and gives them an opportunity to leave their duty if they are a state functionary, or to leave the village. Furthermore, these executions, who are they done by? Is it an extraterrestrial force that is arriving from outside saying: "who are the bad people so we can execute them?". No. The party has its base work and comes to know the most intimate fabric of the population. The masses make the revolution, the party leads them. I would like to quote from Gordon McCormick, advisor to the North American Pentagon, who says: "one of the things that favors *Sendero* is that it carries out justice", which is to say that the executions are not related to the fear that can be generated by the entry of the Armed Forces to a village. Rather they see themselves protected by the guerrilla forces. If the population was afraid of the guerrillas, I am completely sure they wouldn't last two months. If a guerrilla war lasts 15 years and continues to develop, then it is because it has the support of the population, or the population protects them. There is no other explanation.

On the elections and absenteeism, we must clear up some other points: the Party called for a boycott of the elections. It hinders the process where possible. There is another detail which should be kept in mind: The elections in Peru, like the majority of the countries in Latin America, are acts which do not demonstrate the democratic will of the people. The elections in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, or Bolivia are caricatures, or rather they don't work. The people observe from the elections that the only thing they can get is a clown in power. The concrete proof is: Fujimori is the product of the phenomenon of the decomposition of the Peruvian state. He is a political illiterate. All of his personal merits come from being a real estate seller; he is a businessman who became a president. Another example: The Argentinian president, Menem, is nothing more than a joke. These are the phenomena that happen due to the decomposition of the bourgeois societies. Statistically, absenteeism is increasing, and in a state of war, it is effectively greater.

9. Do you believe that the revolution started by *Sendero* will reach its final objective?

LAB. There is no doubt. What we cannot say is when. Given the characteristics of the Peruvian state, the ever increasing crisis, and all the conditions of hunger and misery of the people which are befalling Peru and the rest of Latin America, it is obvious that the Peruvian revolution will reach its objectives.

Interview by Jaime Padilla, Resumen magazine. August 1995

Peru's Revolution: an Example for Latin America

[From the New Zealand magazine The Spark, pg. 22, October 1995]

WHY HAVE OTHER REVOLUTIONS CRUMBLED?

The People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) began with few people and few weapons but quickly gained the support of Peru's workers and peasants. The peasants comprise the main force in the revolution while the workers comprise the leading force. By the late 1980s the People's War had spread so that in one third of the country the fascist Peruvian state forces can no longer rule.

PEOPLE'S WAR NOT DEFEATED.

The strategy of people's war in Peru is based on China's revolution, with the countryside surrounding the cities. In semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries such as Peru, the cities are strongholds of imperialism while the countryside serves as revolutionary base. China had two large cities, Shanghai and Peking, but under Mao Tse-tung's leadership they never tried to take the cities until the whole countryside was liberated; the workers carried out city insurrections.

With the arrest of the Communist Party of Peru's leader, Chairman Gonzalo, in 1992 the world's imperi-

alists and their native lackeys everywhere were jubilant, certain that this would ensure the defeat of the People's War. They have been proved wrong. The People's War has continued bold as ever, and the PCP has shown that it is a party capable of producing leaders and has the support of the masses. The Workers' Party of New Zealand has maintained that the revolution would continue because it is led by a genuine communist party and because the conditions of life in Peru constantly engender the need for revolution.

FROM ONE MASTER TO ANOTHER.

From the beginning this revolution was distinct from all others in Latin America, while sharing some similarities. The PCP has been and remained an independent party, one which is self-reliant. The principles of self-reliance permeate the People's War. Looking at other examples in Latin America the differences become obvious. In Cuba after the revolution--which was not led by the Communist Party--Castro opted to become a dependency of the Soviet Union, which by that time was led by Khrushchev and had restored capitalism although it kept a pretence of socialism.

Cuba had swapped one master for another. She remained a one-crop country and a dependency. That is not compatible with building socialism which requires an all-round economy. China (in Mao's time) offered to give assistance to Cuba to become self-sufficient in food production and was willing to help them, for example to grow rice. Castro turned down China's help saying Cuba could rely on the USSR. That mistake has left Cuba in the terrible state it is today. While we recognise that Cuba never built socialism, we nevertheless, completely oppose US trade sanctions and all other forms of US aggression aimed at Cuba.

A PAWN OF GORBACHEV.

The revolution in Nicaragua also suffered from a lack of leadership by a genuine communist party. The leaders of the revolution were petty bourgeois, not working class. They did not want to build New Democracy or socialism. They thought they could have a 'mixed economy' but ended up firmly back in the clutches of monopoly capitalism and Yankee imperialism. Nicaragua relied on the USSR, by that time led by Gorbachev who cut off oil supplies in return for an agreement with Washington to move some NATO weapons out of Europe.

El Salvador's revolutionaries had also placed their faith in the USSR and when it collapsed so too did the revolution. The leaders capitulated, handed over their weapons and have gained nothing. Before they capitulated they were virtually at the stage of strategic equilibrium.

In Colombia the M-19 has also capitulated and negotiated themselves out of revolution. In Mexico the Chiapas rebellion led by the Zapatistas has become a reformist movement and suffers from serious political and ideological weaknesses.

If a revolutionary movement is to succeed in genuine liberation it must be led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, one which has absorbed the contributions of Mao Tse-tung. It must rely on the masses, not on any big powers. The workers and peasants of Latin America have shown that they are valiant and revolutionary. They have a rich tradition of struggle, they suffer intense exploitation which they clear want to end. The People's War in Peru has shown what is possible. It is leading the way and more will revolutions will follow, we are sure of that.

Committee For a Revolutionary Communist Party in Australia

Write: CRCPA, Box 474D, GPO Melbourne VIC 3001, Australia

Statement to the 75th Celebration of the Founding of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA).

The month of October has a special place in the heart of the toiling masses across the world.

In October 1917, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, dared to storm the heavens. They threw out the hangman Czar, they established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and commenced to build socialism. They repelled the 14 capitalist nations who went to Soviet soil to strangle the Bolshevik baby in its cradle, and in 1941 struggled, for the most part alone, to defeat the ferocious hordes of fascist Germany.

In October 1949, the People's Republic of China was proclaimed by the Communist Party of China which, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, had vanquished imperialism from the soil of China. On this date, the millions of Chinese people stood up! These revolutions of the proletariat, under the leadership of their Communist parties, had far reaching consequences for humanity and earned the everlasting hatred of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The key and guiding principle was the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Millions of people took part in the struggle for a better life without capitalists. All their struggles and advances were made in the midst of fierce struggle against imperialists, remnants of the former ruling class, all sorts of reactionary theories, and against that mainstay of imperialism, opportunism and revisionism.

In 1966, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) began in China. The GPCR was a fierce and necessary struggle to continue the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, to dig out from the leadership the capitalist roaders in

the party, the self serving bureaucrats feathering their own nests and unleash the revolutionary zeal of the masses. Never before had the masses risen up in their millions to defend their socialist gains, and never before had millions studied the Marxist classics.

The restoration of capitalism in the USSR and China does not mean that 'Communism is Dead', as proclaimed by the imperialists, rather it underlies the length and complexity of the struggle of the world wide march to communism.

When fools and reactionaries declare communism is dead, genuine communists regroup, develop, deepen their understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and push forward to the ultimate communist goal.

Today the Communist Party of Peru is waging People's War. The masses, with guns in hand are building the New People's Republic of Peru, administering large liberated areas of the country while defeating the Yankee imperialists and their henchman, the fascist Fujimori.

Their guiding ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo, their imprisoned leader. Our sisters and brothers in Peru stand in the front line in the fight against imperialism and are leading the world to its goal, communism. All genuine communists must ally to their side in their glorious struggle.

In October 1995, there is a celebration of the founding of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). The brochure reprints the Manifesto printed on October 30, 1920. It reads in part:

"To the working class of Australia, the Communist Party at the moment of its formation issues this preliminary statement of principles and policy.

We hold it as a fundamental principle that it is only by the mass movement of the working class as a whole that our emancipation can be won...

The Communist Party of Australia accepts the scientific theory that the capitalist system of production and distribution has outlived its usefulness and has become reactionary and destructive of humanity...

Recognizing this contradiction the Party sets itself to abolish the system, to overthrow this class monopoly and abolish the private ownership of the means of production. Its aim is to establish a system of social ownership of the means of production, thereby making the ownership coincide with the social process of production...

The celebration this October (1995) is sponsored by many who took the path of revisionism. Many supported the arch-reactionary Khrushchev, who, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1956, trampled the Red Flag underfoot and hoisted the flag of conciliation with the imperialists. Khrushchev started the USSR on the road to capitalism, to the crushing of the national liberation movements in the former colonial countries, proclaimed the death of class struggled, vilified the life work of Comrade Stalin and socialism and gave himself credit for the defeat of fascism.

Many of the sponsors to this conference in 1995, expelled those comrades who upheld Marxism-Leninism and repudiated the Khrushchev line. They pronounced the expelled as 'left sectarian'. Then they commenced to take the CPA down into the marsh of revisionism and with a mishmash of theories and questionable leaders, led the CPA to extinction. Even some of these sponsors who did not follow Khrushchev, went later to revisionism and ended up supporting Deng... and other midgets. Some of the sponsors are downright scoundrels who have publicly renounced Marxism and apologized to the bourgeoisie for having ever participate in worker's struggle. Some others wear the mantle of reformism and attempt to lead the people into collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Those who followed the Khrushchev revisionist line, liked to claim that they were making the CPA "broad", "acceptable", "relevant", and so on. They branded as "left sectarian", "dogmatic" etc. the Marxist-Leninists they drove from the Party. Thirty years on, what has happened to the "broad", "relevant", party these revisionist claimed to be guiding? It has utterly collapsed. Yet they now want to celebrate the 75th anniversary of its founding. Their motives must be questioned.

The CRCPA will not be participating in this 'celebration of the CPA'. Although we honour the salvos of the October revolution of 1917 which brought about the CPA's foundation, and we honour those who tirelessly worked for a socialist Australia and strove to understand scientific theory. However, some of the sponsors are downright scoundrels who are busy leading people behind the chauvinism of the Australian ruling class.

The CRCPA believes the Australian toiling masses will re-group and take the road of revolution. They will also study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung to gain a firm grasp of the theory of scientific socialism, practice proletarian internationalism, and play their part to finish off imperialism.

CRCPA Melbourne, October 1995

Always Be Prepared to Counter-attack and Smash All Reactionary Lies and Imperialist Attacks.

To embody today's Marxism: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (M-L-M), means to learn and apply the ideology and example of

President Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru (PCP); it means to uphold, defend, and mainly apply Maoism worldwide, and Gonzalo Thought (GT) in Peru. This must be carried out in theory and practice by all genuine revolutionaries, communist proletarians, and Maoist Communist Parties that support, prepare, and conduct people's war, relying on the masses of poor and oppressed peoples of all countries.

M-L-M is a living science, it emerges from material reality, from class struggle, and it serves to lead the revolutionary storm of the international proletarian and exploited masses to victory. Every struggle against imperialism and revisionism leads to new and further developments of Maoism. Thus, Gonzalo Thought is the creative application of Maoism in the People's War in Peru as part of the strategic offensive of the World Proletarian Revolution.

M-L-M, GT, is the ideology of the proletariat, its weapon of victory. To creatively apply it and develop it through analysis and synthesis, principally synthesis, is crucial for exposing and defeating every imperialist attack. Only by mastering a creative application of M-L-M, GT can one always be prepared to defeat the counter-revolutionary campaigns launched by imperialism and recalcitrant reactionaries.

In our struggle, we face greedy imperialist bankers from the financial oligarchy operating around the world; their ideological think-tanks in the U.S. and the world such as the Heritage Foundation, the Brookings Institute, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Trilateral Commission, and their intelligence services, mainly the CIA. With the aid of mercenaries and native reactionaries, they have no limits to their crimes.

These are the "good guys" wearing red, white and blue in the oppressed countries who sell their tales and encapsuled formulations on "economic recovery" in order to extract additional profits from the impoverished masses and suck the blood of the working people even more.

The Hoax of "Operation Capitulation".

A good example of how imperialism advances reactionary plots to crush the People's War in Peru, is the scheme fabricated by the Peruvian Intelligence Services (SIN or Peruvian CIA). SIN employed past events in China to claim the need for an imaginary "anti-Japanese front" of the 1930's in the 1990's. In this assumed analogy, the big capitalists and big landlords in Peru were suddenly transformed into the Chinese Kuomingtang; the Yankee imperialists became Japanese imperialists. The imperialist call for "peace accords" in Peru became "anti-imperialist," Clinton is a hybrid of Roosevelt and Hirohito and Fujimori plays the role of Chiang Kai Shek. The PCP became the Communist Party of China and President Gonzalo was presented as Mao in person. Peru is China, and the time went "backward into the past" the year was not 1993 or 1995 but 1930.

Through the above distortion of reality and arranged scenario, the reactionaries recalled that Mao "negotiated with Chiang" (a catch-phrase) and so **"naturally"** President Gonzalo can "negotiate" for peace with Fujimori! Why not? We have him in our hands. The masses follow, the leaders lead! How easy! How mechanical can this be?

The reactionaries in Peru actually believed that in this manner they could bring about the end of the People's War. Even Yankee revisionists and pseudo-Maoists and other imperialist agents in Mexico and the Co-RIM, shouted "Mao negotiated with Chiang Kai Shek" attempting to cover up their obvious collaboration with the imperialist attack against President Gonzalo, the PCP, the People's War and the World Proletarian Revolution. With these kind of friends who needs enemies! They even misquoted Lenin on "compromises in the 1920's", that is **after** Soviet Power was conquered, then these misquotes were remixed with constant repetitions such as "concrete analysis of the concrete situation", "study and apply"; What analysis? China in the 1930's, Russia in the 1920's, anywhere anytime **except Peru today.** It was concrete analogy, concrete reactionary misconstruction, concrete imperialist scam (low intensity warfare).

Only reactionaries and imperialists, with the collaboration of mercenary senderologists and revisionist agents, could fabricate such a despicable and foolish deception, vain attempts to confuse, mislead and continue the exploitation of the masses. The capitalists and reactionaries have no limits in their lies, in their attacks and crimes against poor and oppressed peoples. In the end, the enemies of the people can only fool themselves and fail, they are experts in defeats, their "New Big Definition" is a new big failure.

It was a bad joke to call for "peace" with the reactionary armed forces of big capitalists and big landlords whose hands are stained with the blood of our people. These armed forces are trained, funded and led by imperialism to conduct genocide; this same reactionary army is full of mercenary officers sucking up money from drug deals and drug barons who unite to commit genocide against the people of Peru. The so-called "war on drugs" is nothing more than IMPERIALIST LOW INTENSITY WARFARE against the proletariat and working masses, mainly the poor peasants in Peru. The only option for the PCP leading the People's Army (EPL) is to demolish the old rotten State and its reactionary armed forces, and it is doing so in the victorious strategic equilibrium, preparing

the counter-offensive, constructing the Conquest of Power in the whole country.

The reactionary scam of "peace accord was based on false appearances, shameless lies ("there is a leadership problem", "the political refolding in the proletarian revolution", "the historical central direction waits for the future new wave" and other absurd clichés), and high-tech dirty tricks for psychological warfare (fake letters and videos). But now the masses in Peru have Maoism, and, with its creative application: GONZALO THOUGHT, Maoism advances victoriously worldwide.

The Communist Party of Peru (PCP), the leading Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party in the world, at present conducts the revolutionary masses in Peru in invincible People's War, constructing the people's NEW POWER and demolishing the old corrupted power of big capitalists, big landlords, and genocidal drug dealing imperialists, principally Yankee imperialists.

Support the PCP, the People's War and Construct the Conquest of Power!

Comrades! Combatants! Supporters! Working people of all countries! What shall we do? Carry out the Conquest of Power! This is what our respected, humble and brave President Gonzalo clearly teaches us. What shall we do continuously, without interruptions, construct the Conquest of Power! and for this purpose, for this just cause, everyone must support, without interruptions, through all possible means, the just and invincible People's War led by the heroic PCP, to serve the People's Rights, to serve the people's interests for their own benefit, in all aspects of life.

VICTORY TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES AND PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!

Peru People's Movement (MPP)-MB

November, 1995.

Letters

PHILADELPHIA.

August 29, 1995.

Dear Editor:

I read with interest the materials on Peru you sent me, especially those related to the philosophical basis of Gonzalo Thought. No doubt that this great leader has mastered not only Marx, Lenin and Mao but other thinkers of the last century as well. I was trying to track down the logic of his early writings (1970's) to Bernard Bolzano's *Theory of Science* (1781-1848) for ideas in logic and semantics and the methodology of science. However, Gonzalo's ideas are analyzed from a modern point of view. There is a contrast between Gonzalo's work "The Kantian Theory of Space", "The Interview" and his speech "For the New Flag" that need a more detailed study since the setting of the latter is in a profound psychological and philosophical context. The inclusion of religious terminology in this speech is highly original and in my opinion a significant contribution to logic. Gonzalo's writings illuminate and bring to a high degree of conscious clarity the objective of life: the life of principles and passion, emotion, aspiration, evaluation, hope, reality, confidence, trust and faith. This is a problem generally neglected by philosophers, or at most merely half-heartedly pursued. Unlike Gonzalo Thought, most philosophers have much more to say about the abstract problems of being and knowledge which are filled up with subjectivities, than about life itself in its inner core. This may be the influence of Maoism on the ideological development of Gonzalo Thought. I am afraid I can't be more specific right now. It would be beneficial to your struggle if you can disseminate the work of Gonzalo Thought in English to university libraries.

D.B.

Wilkes College, PA.

P.S. A Copy of the English translation of Bolzano's *Theory of Science* (Reidel Publishing, 1973) and *Logical Investigations* by Edmund Russel (Humanities Press, 1970) is enclosed.

DETROIT: PERU SUPPORT COMMITTEE (PSC) ORGANIZES WOMEN'S STUDY GROUP.

[Note: We received this flier from the PSC]

Take Back the Night, Take Back the World! Women and Revolution in Peru. For centuries women throughout the world have dreamed of a day when we can walk down the street day or night without being endangered, harassed or insulted, in body, mind or spirit. Such a society is actually being created today, in the liberated base areas of the revolution in Peru (People's Committees). Forget the lies and disinformation you may have heard about "Shining Path terrorists." Oppressive systems under attack always slander those who are trying to overthrow them. The revolution in Peru is a genuine proletarian revolution. It is led by the Communist Party of Peru --PCP-- (the one the imperialists hate so much, calling it "Shining Path" or "Sendero Luminoso"). The PCP leads a People's War seeking to overturn the three mountains that oppress the people: Imperialism, semi-feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and in the course of doing that eliminates all patriarchal relationships and ideas that have kept women chained.

The thoroughness of this overcoming of patriarchy is illustrated by how fully women participate and lead the revolution: in the Party itself, on the battlefield, as communists and within the family itself.

This study group will explore the theory and practice of this liberating revolution, particularly as it relates to women. Readings will include Frederick Engels; "Origin of the Family, Private property and the State," José Carlos Mariátegui's (founder of the PCP) essays on feminism, and literature on women by Movimiento Femenino Popular, the mass women's organization generated by the PCP.

"No one should be surprised that women do not join in a single feminist movement. Feminism necessarily has various colors, diverse tendencies. It is possible to distinguish in feminism three fundamental tendencies, three main colors: bourgeois feminism, petty bourgeois feminism, and proletarian feminism. Each of these tendencies formulates their demands in different ways. The feminism of a bourgeois woman reflects the interests of the dominant classes. The proletarian woman relates her feminism to the faith of the revolutionary masses in a future society. The historic fact of class struggle is not a mere theoretical speculation. It is reflected clearly in the feminism issue. Women, just as men, are reactionary, centrists, or revolutionaries. They cannot, therefore, unite to fight the same battles. In today's world, the class condition differentiates the individuals more than the gender." J. C. Mariátegui.

Reply to Women Study Group
P.O. Box 1303
Royal Oak, MI 48068

Sponsored by Peru Support Committee-Detroit
P.O. Box 23306
Detroit, MI 48223
Voice Mail: (313) 730-5213

LETTER FROM PERU SUPPORT COMMITTEE (PSC), RHODE ISLAND

Dear Editors;

I've been meaning to write and congratulate you, both on the *New Flag* (*NF*) and the excellent and ground-breaking work of the MPP. Both are badly needed in these perilous times.

Your letters section is excellent and, like the rest of *NF*, is eagerly pursued by your readers here in RI and nearby Massachusetts. *NF* is quickly becoming the resource for independent information on Marxist revolution throughout the world. With that in mind, I would like to offer a few brief comments:

The revolutionary situation in the contemporary world is rapidly approaching a watershed. Widely disparate trends and forces are coming together with such speed that numerous radical realignments in the global political landscape are clearly in the offing. Concomitantly, the old parties of the left, especially in the U.S., are just as rapidly becoming all but irrelevant, unable to adapt to new realities and repeating the old time-worn shibboleths that served, willy-nilly, an earlier world reality.

What I should like to see more of in *NF* are brief resumes, from a materialist perspective, of the world situation and, especially, what communism could and should mean in the modern world. I would also like to know more about Mao's thought as the third stage of Marxism-Leninism, and its ramifications for the advanced countries like the U.S. I can't think of another publication that could more intelligently provide such explanations.

I think such an approach would, at the very least, engender a widening discussion across the rank-and-file left that would serve well the struggle for communism.

Criticizing the leadership of the various left organizations provides a salutary service to those readers--and I am one--who have been totally mystified by the total inability of ostensibly communist parties here in the U.S. to attract more than an insignificant fringe of the working class to their cause. However, the crying need on the left is to fashion a vision of both reality and future that the revolutionary working class can carry forward. No more urgent task awaits the revolutionary or the radical student of politics.

Comradely,
Peru Support Committee
P.O. Box 12
Valley Stream, RI 02864

ITALY. NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION.

(Comitato Nazionale Di Sostegno Alla Revoluzione Peruviana.)

Materiali

C.P. 2290 TA/5

74100 Taranto, Italy

Telefax: 099/374241

On September 13-15, 1995, ROSSOPERAIO, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party organized three conferences in solidarity with the revolutionary storm in Peru. The conferences were held in Palermo, Roma and Milano. The press release of the Italian comrades reads: "Three years after the arrest of President Gonzalo, the People's War advances unstoppable. The big multinational capitalists in order to keep the global economic control, cut salaries and the social benefits conquered by the hard-fought struggles of the working class, they generate unemployment and poverty and conduct military aggression against oppressed countries. The interest of the masses are irreconcilable with those of the big bourgeoisie. The proletariat and the oppressed masses are rebelling against imperialism everywhere. The vanguard Party and the proletariat of our country joyfully greets the emerging international solidarity with the People's War and against the superpower

USA, the imperialist countries (Italy included) that supports the puppet genocidal regime in Peru.

WHAT IS THE SITUATION IN PERU? In this country, one of the wealthiest in natural resources in Latin America, its people are one of the most oppressed and poor in the world. Sixty five (65%) of the population of 23 millions live in absolute poverty, 50% of the children die before they reach the age of six, the annual per capita income is no more than $1,000 dollars, a country where women and children are abused by an oppressive State. Due to these extreme conditions, the impoverished masses made up mostly of poor peasants and workers have been organized by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) and launched People's War since May 1980. It has been 15 years of hard fought struggle against a ruthless enemy and in which the revolutionaries have achieved strategic equilibrium with the enemy. The organized effective control of the territory by the PCP is evident in about 1/3 of the national territory, and the military and political actions of the People's War are carried out in the entire country. After the arrest of President Gonzalo, the undisputed leader of the PCP, the People's War has kept up the armed struggle in Peru. In the last presidential elections, the masses led by the PCP has successfully boycotted it and thus increased the guerrilla actions.

FOR THE RE-LAUNCHING OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

The ideological, political and military line of the PCP belongs to the international proletariat. The self-sustained and self-reliant nature of this victorious revolution, and the way it successfully defeats the vile imperialist attacks to crush the People's War, is a great example to the people's of the world.

In spite of having its leader buried alive in the dungeons of the enemy, this revolution marches forward towards victory. We plan to launch solidarity campaigns in the cities of Roma, Milano, Bergamo, Ravenna, Modena and will extend this campaign nationwide. We also plan a national assembly in which will invite a Peruvian comrade.

Let's learn the lessons of the PCP to forge the revolutionary party of the Italian proletariat.

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Sosteniamo la guerra populare in Peru, faro della lotta di liberazione antimperialista del mundo!

Onore agli eroici prigionero politici peruviani: realizziani visibili per recordare il massacre del 19 Giugno 1986 e per denunciare il regime fascista di Fujimori.

PER IL PARTITO MARXISTA-LENINISTA-MAOISTA!



FRANCE. PCP SUPPORTER DENOUNCES CAPITULATION

September 09, 1995

Dear Editor:

I am an unemployed worker and supporter of the Maoist revolution in Peru. I live in Nantes NW of France (near the Atlantic sea).

1. I came across with the *New Flag/Nueva Bandera* and would like to order it as soon as possible.

2. Enclosed is a French version of the Initial Reply of *Diario International* to the opportunists of Co-RIM.

3. The RCP-USA and its stooge CSRP-USA have the same conciliatory position to the "peace accords" of Fujimori that according to them are the fruit of "two line struggle within the PCP."

I don't believe that any experienced revolutionary of the 60's did not learn the maneuvers and traps of the enemy and can be in agreement with the documents of the Co-RIM. Not a single line of the Co-RIM documents state that the "peace accords" is a counterrevolutionary hoax mounted by the police and supported by a handful of capitulators. That was stated clearly by the PCP Central Committee. Anyone who has studied the basic experience of the revolutionary movement can understand that opportunists and revisionists sooner or later will work hand-in-hand with the forces of the bourgeois State (e.g., Kautsky, Trotsky, etc.)

Can you tell me if there is any ideological struggle on this matter in the bases of the RCP against the position of the Co-RIM? I read the *Revolutionary Worker* (*RW*) periodically and plan to visit the U.S. soon, would you also tell me if the RCP matches its words and reddish postures printed in its paper with deeds? I would like to know if the RCP does any mass work and goes deep into the masses like Lenin taught us...Is the RCP rooted in "the proletarians of the barrios and ghettos" of the U.S. as they claim in the *RW*?

Lilian T.

Nantes, France.

REPLY. Unfortunately, we cannot afford more space to answer your questions. First, we are not members of the RCP. Second, the focus of our criticism of the RCP is related to its opportunist position on the People's War in Peru. Third, we believe that for the last 2-3 years, there has been a shift to the right in the RCP. Based on the latest publications of the *Revolutionary Worker*, *Revolution*, and internal RCP documents sent to *The New Flag* by RCP rank and file members, it appears that the opportunist positions of the current leadership have become a consolidated revisionist line. The two line struggle, vital in a Maoist party has been effectively curtailed. The RCP, a participant in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) in which the PCP is

the leading member, is facing a crossroads: either continue its present degenerated line as a lifeless reformist clique that reflect its origins or change line and be transformed into a potential revolutionary Party of the proletariat in the US. Our differences with them are clearly established in the Party documents and has to do with the interpretation and application of Maoism [see the *Fundamental Documents* of the PCP]. To provide you with an understanding of the nature of the RCP, we suggest you reading the following RCP documents: 1) *The High Road vs. The Well-Worn Rut* (1978), 2) *The struggle over China in the RCP* (1978), 3) *Fundamental and Principal Contradictions on a World Scale* (1982), 4) *Two Talks on Preparations and Possibilities* (1987) 5) *The Mass Line* (1989-1994), 6) The TPC Points, 7) *Democracy: More than Ever ...*, 8) *Mao More than Ever*, 9) Communication from Avakian to the RCP CC (1993), 10) *Persevering* (1994), 10) For Leadership (and members on cadre-level, at discretion of leadership, 1995) 11) Positions on the PW in Peru (1993-1995), 12) Main Political Report from the CC meeting, 13) *Internal Struggles in Building the RCP* and others.

With regard to the People's War, we agree with you that RCP has the same position as the Co-RIM. It is our understanding that Co-RIM has a very precarious existence now. However, we should continue our efforts to consolidate and provide Maoist leadership to RIM. The mass work of the left in this country is almost non-existent, it is preposterous for any group to claim that they "are leading the masses." There are one or two small RCP-led fronts since at least a decade ago. The more visible is "Refuse and Resist" that has chapters in a few cities and are focused mainly on a reformist approach to issues (police brutality, abortion, etc.) The *RW* tends to report spontaneous struggles in this country that in reality have nothing to do with their line and leadership (they don't even participate in those events, except the *RW* photographer), for example the L.A. Rebellion and the One Million March were organized by oppressed segments of this imperialist society with purposes other than revolutionary struggles. Neither are they working with the masses and ghettos inside the beast. Now they are selling removable Mao tattoos for $2: like their principles, they are skin deep and easily eraseable. It seems that their main task is the economic struggle in the bookstore. In sum, it is mostly a white middle class organization with very few African Americans and Latinos in token positions.

BURMA: PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FRONT (PLF)

August 31, 1995

Movimiento Popular Peru (MPP),

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for your support to the armed struggle in Burma. We support the People's War and its vanguard the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), its tested leadership, the Central Committee. Nothing is greater than revolution!.

Twenty two years ago (1973), the PLF began its struggle in Burma. We have faced all kinds of difficulties, but have managed to organize a guerrilla force capable of waging armed struggle against the military dictatorship. We have broadened our front with democratic forces and groups such as the Red Flag Communist Party to oppose the fascist military regime known as the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) in power since 1962. The dictatorship has used the method of divide and rule to stay in power. It has used racism and religion to split the people. Under pressure by the world's public opinion, it has released the Nobel Peace Laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and a handful of political prisoners of lesser importance, but keeps on torturing and starving in prison the bulk of political prisoners. The SLORC has organized a sham National Convention to draft a constitution at the service of the military dictatorship. Also, the military has organized a civilian front, the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA). People are being forced to join this paramilitary entity, and are given special privileges.

The struggle in Burma is only between two forces: On one side is the entire oppressed population, who demand new democracy, and on the other side are a handful of military dictators and thugs who want to cling to power as long as they can. We call upon all political forces in Burma to boycott the SLORC' sham National Convention, its paramilitary USDA and other lackeys.

We stand firmly on the side of the oppressed and revolutionary forces, in unity with our allies to wage armed struggle and organize a mass uprising to totally rid the country of the SLORC and any other kind of reactionary military dictatorship. We hereby declare that we are unequivocally committed to continue the armed struggle.

Aye Saung, Secretary General

Central Committee.

Maeping, P.O. Box 168,

Chieng Mai 50100, Thailand.

INDIANA, USA.

Declaration by Puerto Rican Prisoner of War (POW) Edwin Cortes.

July 23, 1995

Compañeros of *The New Flag*,

Here I am in the dungeons of US imperialism, always combative and

in good spirits. I wish to send my solidarity to the People's War in Peru and the struggle for the release of President Gonzalo and all political prisoners and prisoners of war in your country.

Below is an extract of my declaration to the U.S. Parole Board.

"Although the organizing work done around the Parole Board could also be part of a political / legal strategy to expose the biased judicial process in the U.S. as well as a vehicle to organize, educate and mobilize our community towards the freedom of the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War (POW), after a careful analysis of the current political conditions of the independence movement, I have decided not to appear before the US Parole Board, as I had planned. On March 9, 1995 an editorial of the *San Juan Star* endorsed the position of the criminal Carlos Romero Barcelo in which this sellout (vendepatria) stated that he would join the struggle for a presidential pardon if the 15 incarcerated patriots humiliate themselves with a "express recognition of their crimes and sincerely repent and promised not to commit those crimes again." On March 29, 1995, the U.S. Parole Commission denied the petition of c. Alberto Rodriguez who was told to complete his entire sentence which ends in April of 2004. Not a single word was heard from the *San Juan Star* or the hypocrite Romero Barcelo. Thus, the Parole Board has confirmed to be nothing more than a tool of U.S. political interests against the cause of the independence of Puerto Rico, which in our case, seeks to keep us incarcerated for as long as humanly possible. This was clearly demonstrated in a memorandum from the Parole Commission to Congresswoman Nydia Velasquez regarding POW Alberto Rodriguez: 'Although you provided the Commission with substantial reason for granting parole...the Commissioners who voted to deny parole decided that this favorable factor was outweighed by the need to deter all forms of politically-motivated violence and terrorism in the United States.' And regarding my case, the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois sent this memo to the Parole Commission: 'The government opposes parole for any of the defendants in this case. The FALN prides itself on its persistence and commitment. By his own actions and defiant words, Edwin Cortes is a dangerous philosophically committed terrorist in the truest sense of the word.' This fact led me to conclude that appearing before the U.S. Parole would be an act of futility. Since the parole avenue has been exhausted as a legal / political strategy, I strongly encourage you to seek other avenues for our release. The campaign for amnesty should be strengthened. After 12-15 years within these concrete and solitary walls, we need your continued support. I express my inalienable right to rid my nation from colonialism, and remain committed in our just struggle for national independence and the freedom of all Puerto Rican patriots."

Letter from Nicaragua Solidarity Network (Abridged)

August 10, 1995

Dear Editor:

I just got done looking through the latest issue of *The New Flag*-, it's pretty impressive. As you know we don't support the PCP, but we believe in information and communication and you're doing a good job of it.

I'm writing to ask you if it is at all possible for you to post the news items from Peruvian papers as you get them (posting them in Spanish would be great). They are excellent (and I love the fact that you cite the sources!) but most of them in the latest issue of *The New Flag* are now too old for us to use. You've probably noticed that our coverage of Peru has not been very good, because it is so difficult to get good information. Spanish-language papers like *El Diario-La Prensa* [in New York]use Agence-France Presse or Associated Press for their Peru reporting, and as you know both are just reactionary propaganda when it comes to Peru (AFP is especially bad on Peru, I don't know why).

For example, if we had gotten your news item on the attack on Victor Joy Way's house, I probably would have printed it. I had the story from other sources, but I wasn't positive it was really a PCP action. That is true of almost every attack that happens--they papers always say it was "thought to be" carried out by the PCP or as AFP puts it, by "presuntos sediciosos" or "terroristas." But if we don't have information directly from the PCP claiming responsibility for an attack, I don't want to assume that it was done by the PCP. Another example is the bombing of the casino (I actually don't even remember if we covered that news item at all). I definitely would have printed it because I didn't see any other sources that said the PCP evacuated the building. (I wondered why there were so few casualties! But I can't make assumptions if I don't have the information...)

Also, I would have loved to have gotten your information on the electoral boycott & voided ballots in time to print it with our election coverage. As you know, we try to cover the news very quickly, and getting the information three weeks or a month after something happened is already too late. Another example is the June 25 item on the army invading the university at Huancayo and arresting 100 students. That's the kind of news that isn't printed anywhere else.

.....

Jane

Weekly News Update on the Americas

Nicaragua Solidarity Network

[Note. There were many questions on several slanders and allegations made by the Peruvian government which is repeated by the U.S. corporate media against the People's War. These issues were clarified directly to NSN and were further detailed in several articles in our previous issues. One of their concerns was on the issue of opposition within the party and freedom of expresion. The first deals with the two-line struggle within the Party which allows its development, and the second one has to do with the democratic character of the revolution in which participates a conglomerate of the people: Peasants, workers, progressives and even the national bourgeoisie (small merchants, professionals, etc.) with different interests but are part of the united front of the revolution.]

TURKEY

[Editor's Note. We received this communique from our Turkish comrades of DHKC.]

We are Spreading Revolutionary War.

Today in Nurtepe, Gazi, Okmeydani and Elbistan, tomorrow we will touch the entire country!

The People are Learning People's War.

The guerrilla, the militia and the popular insurrection are the instruments of the revolution that provide us hope and encouragement to fight against government oppression. A new political situation has been reached, the people cannot accept oppression any longer. The evidence is the spontaneous insurrections like the one in Elbistan and the organized insurrections that are being prepared. Turkish capitalist oppression is in a big crisis, it has to keep under its control a population that no longer accepts oppression. That's why we are organizing the people all over the country so that the next insurrection will deal a death blow to the oppressors.

Revolutionary People's Liberation Front.

May 5, 1995.

Devrimci Sol BM Box 8253

London WCIN 3XX

Without State Power, All Is Illusion

Centuries pass, idols fall.
An old oppressive order collapses,
and in the mountain peaks lightning
splits the night with its mighty strike.
The seas surge, the storm rises,
and in the great unrest, the sun rises;
Without state power, all is illusion.
Storm the heavens with gunfire
the Communist Party gives new life.
Doubts and fears fade like smoke.

We have the strength, the future is ours
Communism is the goal, and it will be real.

From *El Diario*, Lima

The New Flag is the publication of the Movimiento Popular Perú (MPP) in the United States. We can be reached at:

The New Flag
30-08 Broadway, Ste. 1159
Queens, NY 11106

To contact us through email:

lquispe@nyxfer.blythe.org

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